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AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN AYUKAWA-HAMA (AYUKAWA SHORE COMMUNITY)

BY

MASAMI IWASAKI-GOODMAN ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring, 1994

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Abstract

Diffusion of the centuries-old whaling tradition in Japan resulted in the emergence of the Ayukawa-hama whaling community at the beginning of this century in Miyagi prefecture in the North-Eastern part of Honshū. Various activities associated with the small-scale localized Small-type coastal whaling (STCW) operations, having been integrated into the local social, cultural and economic systems in the course of this community's development, has become an indispensable part of the endogenous development of Ayukawa-hama. In 1988, a substantial part of the STCW operation was banned as a result of implementation of the moratorium on commercial whaling. The whaling ban has caused devastating impacts on this community, creating a situation where the local people are unable to ensure the survival of Ayukawa-hama as a viable community. While the local people have been making various adjustments to the new circumstances, they are persistent in their efforts to normalize the STCW operations by returning them to the state that existed before the 1988 whaling ban came into effect.

The recent development of the international debate about STCW has demonstrated that the bases of the problem lie in a value conflict between the whaling cultural tradition in which whales are viewed as renewable resource for human consumption and the protectionist view that encourages a non-use principle with respect to whales. An interactional analysis of a recent International Whaling Commission (IWC) meetings where these two conflictive views are presented and negotiated demonstrates that there exists intense polarization between the views of the pro-whaling minority and the anti-whaling majority throughout the discussion in the Commission. This polarization prevents the Commission from allowing a reasonable resolution of the social, cultural and economic problems that the moratorium has caused in Ayukawa-hama.

This examination, employing the endogenous development model originally proposed by Japanese folklorists Yanagita Kunio, demonstrates the importance of both individual and collective choice in mediating social and cultural change. In the process of choosing appropriate adaptive responses to stress, people reject newly available options perceived as threatening the maintenance of the essential elements of their existing social and cultural system and the consequent wellbeing of their community.

Acknowledgement

I would sincerely like to thank the members of my committee for their assistance and help. I am especially indebted to Dr. Milton M.R. Freeman for his continual encouragement and guidance throughout the conduct of this research. Encouragement and assistance extended by Dr.Pam Asquith is also deeply appreciated.

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Discussions with numerous scientists with common interests in whaling issues have been helpful. Advice from Mr. Dan Goodman, Fisheries and Oceans, Canada is especially appreciated.

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List of abbreviations

STCW: Small-type coastal whaling
IWC: International Whaling Commission
GOJ: Government of Japan
JSTCW: Japanese small-type coastal whaling
LTCW: Large-type coastal whaling
NGO: Non-governmental organization
CBW: Community-based whaling
RMP: Revised Management Procedure

Chapter 1 Introduction

As of the 1988 whaling season, Japanese small-type coastal whaling (STCW) ceased a substantial part of its operation due to the moratorium on commercial whaling[1], a decision that was imposed by the International Whaling Commission (IWC). The situation created by the moratorium and the context and process wherein the consequences of this decision are discussed, negotiated and implemented provides an opportunity to better understand the dynamics of social and cultural change.

The research is twofold in that it examines: 1) an overall process of social and cultural change involving the IWC participants, the Government of Japan (GOJ), the media, and at the final stage, the affected communities, and 2) an interactional analysis through which negotiation and discussion at the IWC meetings are analyzed. Social and cultural change is a selective process in which the people individually and collectively evaluate the newly introduced or created elements and make a conscious adjustment to their existing social and cultural system based on their evaluation (Lurie 1968). Any elements of changes which are perceived as threatening to the core of the social and cultural system are rejected, while non-threatening elements of the innovation may be more readily incorporated into the existing social and cultural system.

---

[1] In 1982 the IWC agreed that catch limit for all commercial whaling would be set to zero for the 1986 coastal and 1985/86 pelagic seasons and thereafter. These zero quotas are commonly referred to as the moratorium on commercial whaling or the pause in commercial whaling.

In accordance with Article V3. of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, 1946, Japan filed an objection to this regulation. Japan continued LTCW, STCW and pelagic whaling operations until it withdrew its objection to the moratorium in 1987 with respect to commercial pelagic whaling and commercial coastal whaling for minke and Bryde's whales, and in 1988 with respect to commercial coastal sperm whaling.

Adequate analysis of the change situation requires both micro- and macro-levels of investigation. For these purposes two theoretical approaches, interactional analysis and the endogenous development model, have been adopted. The interactional analysis (Goffman 1959, 1961, 1967, 1971) provides a suitable model for examining, at the micro-level, various discussions and negotiations at the IWC and resulting changes occurring during this process. In addition, an ethnographic interviews with the people in Ayukawa-hama will be introduced as another means of micro-level examination in order to understand the views of the local people concerning whales, whaling and the present situation of their community.

The endogenous development model is an effective framework to examine the situation in the STCW communities where the local people, as individuals and as a group, make decisions in response to the changing circumstances. It provides for sufficient treatment of the views of individual members of the community and their consequent decisions within the context of the community development which reflects collective decisions. The endogenous development approach therefore, provides for a more macro-level analysis and also provides a mechanism to bring together the micro-level and macro-level analyses (Tsurumi 1975, 1979 a,b,c, 1989;Tsurumi and Kawata 1989).

The thesis proceeds from a statement of the Research Problem (Chapter 2) which gives a brief summary of the whaling issues in question. The methodology section which describes the practical aspects of data gathering and data analysis, and the theoretical review which provides the anthropological basis to the research are presented as Chapter 3 and 4 respectively. Chapter 5 provides a review of the historical development of Japanese Small-type Coastal Whaling (JSTCW) issues which places the research within its historical context. It also provides background material covering both domestic and international regulations concerning JSTCW. The discussion of social and cultural significance of STCW in the local community and an ethnographic interviews with people in

Ayukawa-hama (Ayukawa shore community) are provided in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 presents the analysis of field data related to the interactions among the various participants of the IWC meetings. Research findings are presented and discussed in Chapter 8. Finally, in the Conclusion (Chapter 9) an attempt is made to apply the research findings to the existing anthropological theories.

Chapter 2 The Research Problem

In 1972 a resolution was passed at the UN Conference on the Human Environment calling for the IWC to implement a ban on commercial hunting of whales. Ten years later, at its 1982 meeting, the IWC set zero-catch limits for all species of whales commercially hunted under its management authority beginning with the 1985/86 pelagic and 1986 coastal seasons.

The zero-catch quotas, or moratorium has been primarily viewed as a whale conservation issue. That is, the IWC implemented a required measure for the protection of whale resources which otherwise would become seriously depleted. On the other hand, the moratorium has also revealed itself as a human issue, particularly after the impact of cessation of commercial whaling has been repeatedly reported at the IWC meetings. The STCW communities in Japan are examples where the social, cultural and economic impacts of the moratorium have been threatening the survival of communities (Akimichi et al. 1988;Bestor 1989;Japan 1989a, 1990a, 1991b).

The present whaling problems have deep roots in the value conflict concerning whales and whaling[2]. The existing public views of whales as a special class of animal and whaling as being cruel and rapacious were originated in urban Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Such views have been effectively promoted by the anti-whaling lobby groups, and have been an important driving force behind the eventual adoption of the moratorium. The people living in Japanese whaling communities and the Japanese in general, who traditionally have been utilizing whale resources for human consumption, have had to confront and come to terms with such foreign ideology which discouraged the killing of whales and which banned commercial whaling (Akimichi et al. 1988;Iwasaki 1988;Braund et al. 1989;Takahashi et al. 1989;Kalland and Moeran 1992;Iwasaki-Goodman and Freeman 1994). The degree to which the people in the STCW communities reject the non-traditional view of whales and whaling is reflected in the fact that the whaling operators in the STCW communities, despite their accumulated economic losses, have continued to operate on a reduced scale, taking small whale species under domestic rather than IWC management authority. Furthermore, the community people and the STCW operators have been actively promoting at home and abroad an understanding of their need for a normalization of the STCW operation.

---

[2] This is also the case in the controversy surrounding the issue of the hunting of seals in Canada. George Wenzel (1991) argues that the anti-sealing campaign is an attempt by animal rights activists to "deculturize the relationship between Inuit and animals".

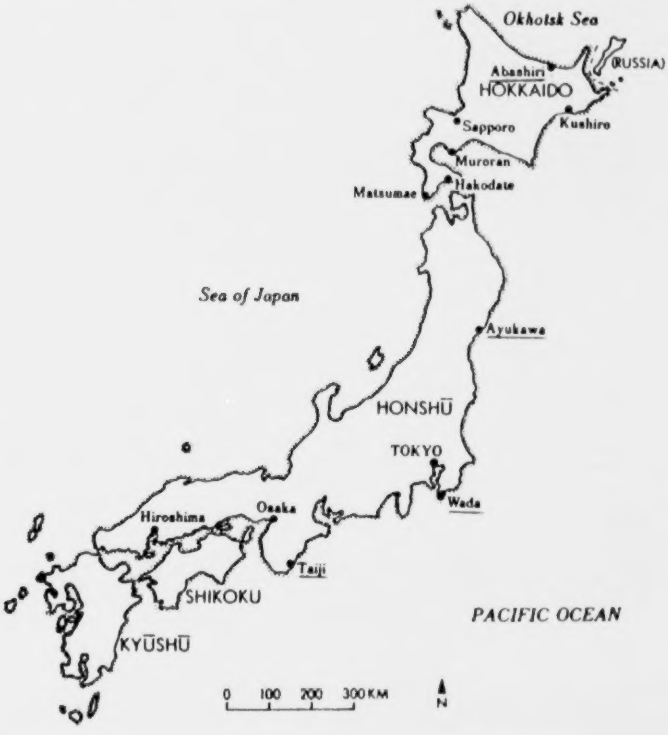
The research is focused on the case of the STCW communities in Japan. Extensive social science studies, conducted in four STCW communities, have provided rich information concerning the social and cultural significance of whaling in those communities. Historical community development, economic, social and cultural dynamics of each community vary among these four communities (Akimichi et al. 1988). In the case of Ayukawa-*hama*, the community development has been solely dependent on coastal whaling operations, of which STCW operations has played an indispensable role as a locally-rooted whaling operation, in comparison to Large-type Coastal Whaling (LTCW) operations which were operated in Ayukawa-hama by the non-local investors. STCW in Ayukawa-*hama*, therefore, provides sufficient material to examine a social and cultural system which is presently undergoing drastic changes as a result of the implementation of the moratorium.

The STCW issue will be further examined in the larger context of domestic discussions, and more importantly, international negotiation which is dominated by the kind of values concerning whales and whaling that have been developed in urban Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. The moratorium is one expression of this domination, which is strenuously objected to in the STCW communities in

Japan[3]. The process involves various levels of negotiation in which numerous groups, sub-groups and individuals take part. The moratorium was and continues to be discussed, decided upon and implemented through such negotiations.

One level of negotiation takes place in the STCW communities. There are nine STCW boats based in four communities along the Pacific Ocean: Abashiri, Ayukawa-hama, Wadaura, and Taiji.

Map 1: Map of Japan with four STCW communities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(RUSSIA)
Abashiri
HOKKAIDO
Sapporo
Kushiro
Muroran
Hakodate
Matsumae
Sea of Japan
Ayukawa
HONSHŪ
TOKYO
Wada
Osaka
Hiroshima
Taiji
SHIKOKU
PACIFIC OCEAN
KYŪSHŪ
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[3] Even stronger objection to the implementation of the moratorium has been seen in the coastal whaling communities in Norway and Iceland. In 1992, Iceland made a decision to leave IWC. Norway resumed commercial whaling in the 1993 whaling season. These countries, along with Greenland and the Faroe Islands, have formed a separate regional organization for the conservation and management of marine mammals in the North Atlantic Ocean. This organization could, in the future, be used by Norway and/or Iceland to manage their coastal whaling operations.

Domestically, the GOJ, more particulary the Whaling Section of the Fishery Agency, is responsible for policy making and administration of regulations concerning STCW operations. GOJ also plays a key role in international negotiations at the IWC and during international interactions in other bilateral and multilateral discussions. While various Ministries of the GOJ are involved in the whaling issues, the Fishery Agency officials have served as Japanese IWC Commissioners and have undertaken the main negotiations on behalf of the GOJ.

The main decision making body on catch quotas and other regulatory measures related to minke whaling, which comprises the substantive portion of the STCW operation, is the IWC. The annual meeting of the IWC provides a forum where the political position of each member country, including Japan, is presented and negotiations take place concerning whale resource management.

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attend the IWC meetings, and the majority of these actively oppose commercial whaling. These anti-whaling NGOs constitute a significant part of the process of negotiation, with their roles as negotiators and intervenors extending over various levels. For example, as members of government delegations in some cases, members of the NGOs have an internal influence on the position of their government. NGO representatives are granted observer status in the Commission's meetings, in which capacity they work in the margins of the meeting and also monitor each government's performance.

The presence of the media is also an important part of the interaction at the IWC meeting. Some media have a strong environmental and animal-welfare orientation with specific positions in the whaling issue. NGO publications which are released daily during the IWC meeting reach the local media as well as the accredited reporters at the IWC.

Finally, the general public, based on their knowledge and experience, make their value judgements on the issue and may communicate these views directly or indirectly to their government's decision makers. The public position on the issue is ultimately a reflection of education and shared cultural values within their society.

In the case of the STCW issue, the input that social science researchers have brought forward in the discussion at the IWC concerning the affected communities is substantive. Over thirty papers documenting the social and cultural significance of STCW have been completed by a group of international social scientists and have been presented at the IWC's Technical Committee Working Group on Socio-economic implication of zero-catch quota and consideration of various types of STCW.

An examination of the issues relating to the STCW fishery in Japan provides answers to such questions as : 1) how the moratorium is discussed and implemented, 2) how the community people have been coping with the imposition of the moratorium and, 3) why the people in the STCW communities have rejected the non-traditional values placed on whales and whaling. The analyses will ultimately disclose a mechanism of social and cultural change. Such change is a process of negotiation in which people give up certain elements of their social and cultural system, and accept and incorporate new elements and in which people resent and resist change when it is perceived as threatening their identity, or the core elements of their existing social and cultural system.

Chapter 3 Methodology

A. General methodology

This research will make use of data from various sources that have been accumulated since the initial field work began in 1986. The data include field notes from interviews conducted in four Japanese STCW communities: Abashiri (1986 to present), Ayukawa-hama (1988 to present), Taiji (1988), Wadaura (1988), as well as field notes from a series of meetings with STCW boat owners held in Tokyo (1989 to 1991), and notes taken during the annual IWC meetings (1988 to present). Published and unpublished scholarly reports, government documents, newsletters and magazine articles, newspapers and the IWC's published and unpublished documents are also used as data sources.

It should be noted that in various fieldwork situations, there have been situational restrictions: physical, psychological as well as the formal operational regulations that govern certain meetings. This has resulted in inconsistencies in the quality of data and recording methods. This tendency is more significant in data gathered in the IWC meetings. However, every effort has been made to use a standard set of variables; intensity of interaction, level of tension, tone of voice[4], content of verbal exchange, personal/official position distinction and front stage/back stage distinction (Chapter 8.C.1) in analyzing the interaction in the meetings in order to establish a consistent framework for data analysis. Furthermore, the large volume of available data, which represents the development of the discussions extending at least for five or more years in most cases, helps to ensure reliability in order to meet the purpose of this research.

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[4] Because the physical characteristics of the meeting room often restricted the researcher's ability to observe individual speakers, she had to depend heavily on acoustic cues. For example, intensity of interaction is judged by noting deviations from the standard interval between interventions and the number of interventions on a given point rather than judging the intensity of interaction by observing gestures and facial expressions. Tone of voice is judged in reference to the individual's normal voice tone which is known to the researcher. Level of tension is judged by both the intensity of interaction and the tone of voice.

There are various factors which are unusual and may be unique to this research. First, in most field situations where the researcher was physically present, the researcher was not only a participant observer as in conventional anthropological research, but also an active participant or actor within the reported interaction[5]. Therefore, the data are described from the point of view of both a participant in, and an observer of the discussion. Similarly, the other participants in the meetings have various perceptions of the researcher. Most typically, the researcher, since 1988 when she first attended the IWC meetings as a member of the Japanese delegation, has been recognized by some participants as an advocate of Japanese whaling. Such a perceived role of the researcher influences the reaction of others at the meetings, as well as the researcher's access to certain information in the given situation.

Another significant factor which might have influenced the nature of research and the kind of data obtained is the fact that the researcher is a native female[6] conducting fieldwork in Japan[7]. In the field situation, the researcher is expected to follow certain cultural rules which influences access to field data. She simultaneously follows a female gender role, which dictates patterns of behaviour that the researcher is obliged to observe. The native Japanese female researcher is also presented with a certain degree of predictable reactions in the multi-national situations such as the IWC meetings, which is dominated overwhelmingly by white male participants. Furthermore, the Japanese delegation, being the most physically recognizable group among the representatives of whaling countries, are often subject to physically and psychologically hostile actions by extreme anti-whaling activists, who threaten the delegates' security. Such negative environmental conditions under which the meetings take place strongly influence the perception that the researcher has developed over time.

---

[5] A number of anthropological studies have been conducted based on the experience of the researcher as an insider of the subject group or as an actor of the observed events, which are termed "reflexive ethnography" or "reflexive anthropology"(Lofland and Lejeune 1960;Homan 1980;Holdaway 1982;Bettelheim 1970;Jules-Rosette 1978). Such approaches are characterised by a researcher's attempt to totally immerse into the subject culture, thus allowing the researcher to examine the events from the point of view of the members of the given cultural or sub-cultural group (Hammersley and Atkinson 1987). In the area of Japanese studies, Befu (1980) emphasizes a need for a fine-tuned understanding of culture and urges scholars residing outside of Japan to immerse in "their cultural bath".

B. Relationship between theory and methodology

This research uses mainly two theoretical approaches: the interactional approach and the endogenous development approach. In addition, ethnographic interviews are also used in order to understand how people perceive changes taking place. These three approaches provide an effective framework for examining the complex change phenomena associated with

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[6] Altorki and El-Solh (1988) have compiled a book dealing specifically with experiences of female native anthropologists working in their own society.

[7] The need for anthropological studies by a member of the subject society, which has been terms "native anthropology' or "indigenous anthropology", have been emphasized by various anthropologists (Fahim 1977;Hsu 1979;Nakhleh 1979; Messerschmidt 1981;Altorki and El-Solh 1988). Hsu, in discussing cultural problems of anthropologists in field situations, states that "systematic study of the ethnographer's own culture is the first order of business" (1979:526).

STCW issues. The ethnographic interview, the interactional approach and the endogenous development approach may be viewed as occurring along a conceptual continuum, where the number of individuals observed and the time depth examined vary in each approach.

Table 1

A Conceptual continuum of various approaches

A	B	C	D
Small number of individuals		→	Large number of individuals
Limited time depth			Great time depth

A= the approximate position of ethnographic interview
B= the approximate position of interactional approach
C= the approximate position of endogenous development
D= the approximate position of macro analysis (e.g. Marxism)

Ethnographic interviews involve a minimum number of individuals, whereas the interactional approach examines a group of people who interact with each other. The endogenous development approach examines a community where substantial numbers of people interact, whereas in the more macro-level analysis, a nation or the world constitutes the subject of study.

The time depth studied varies substantially for each approach identified in the above table. In the ethnographic interviews, an emphasis is placed on examination of on-going activities. Although interviews can involved asking about the past events, the ethnographer's ability to verify the data may decrease in such cases. In the interactional approach, behaviour of individuals is mainly observed as they participate in an interpersonal interaction. While the time depth is limited in the ethnographic interviews and the interactional approach, historical data is of crucial importance in the endogenous development approach and the macro approach.

Various types of meetings in the IWC in which the issues relating to the STCW and other important issues are discussed will be examined, utilizing an interactional approach. Factors influencing each interaction situation, such as situational constraint and larger context, will be closely investigated. Observation, interviews, elicitation and document analysis have all been used to gather data needed for the interactional analysis. However, it should be noted that given the conflictive nature of the issue as well as the meeting atmosphere, data elicitation often becomes extremely difficult. In many situations, the researcher is recognized as one of the two opposing groups, namely those who support and those who oppose whaling. This poses severe limitations upon access to interactional situations. The researcher has open access to those who are not strong advocates of the anti-whaling position, because she is perceived as one of the pro-whaling people. However, those who maintain an extreme position opposing whaling avoid being seen with the researcher, as such action is perceived by his/her group as violating the boundary rules.

Where information elicitation cannot be fully conducted, the researcher has extensively used the minutes and notes of the meetings such as IWC working group meetings, Technical Committee meetings and Plenary meetings. Furthermore, published material has been extensively used to understand the collective views of each group; ie. the various government delegations, and the NGO groups. Although there may be some variance between an individual's personal ideology and a group's collective view, using the supplemental material is considered appropriate for the purposes of this research.

The description of the situational constraints mainly deals with the physical conditions of the site where an interaction takes place. Such physical conditions affect the proximity patterns demonstrated by the actors in their interactions, influencing the range of observed behaviour as well as the effects that certain behaviours accomplish and are a significant part of the analysis. The researcher tried to record the observable situational constraints in every interaction situation, sometimes with the use of a camera.

The larger context involves political constraints, certain economic issues, historical development of the issue and the other factors which inevitably influence the interactional behaviour of the actors. The description of such matters is significant in order to sufficiently comprehend the underlying motivation of given verbal and non-verbal interaction and to properly interpret each component of the interaction. The research constraints in documenting larger contextual data are more serious when analyzing large-group interactions. Besides a larger physical context of the on-going interaction, it is important to consider the larger institutional context of each of the actors, who conduct themselves in accordance with certain political and economic considerations. Thus, investigating such factors is crucial in numerous situations. However, obtaining a full understanding of each individual's political and economic constraints becomes problematic when the number of participants is large.

The analysis of each interaction in the IWC meetings described in Chapter 7 is based on first-hand data such as the researcher's observation, the official report of the meetings and the official verbatim record. Both verbal and non-verbal behaviours have been observed and recorded. Although the use of a video recorder would enhance the accuracy of recorded data, the researcher had to refrain from using such a device because of restrictions imposed by the organizers of meetings. In other situations, the researcher decided not to use such equipment to maintain a cordial and colleagial relationship with the informants. Tape recorders were used whenever the situation allowed. In the meetings where the use of tape recorders was forbidden, an official verbatim record is available, or more than one researcher kept detailed notes to supplement the official minutes of the meeting.

For consistency in analytical procedures, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the actors are examined according to a standard set of variables; intensity of interaction, tone of voice, level of tension, content of verbal exchange, personal/official position distinction, and front stage/back stage distinction. Therefore, the results of the analysis of the interactions taking place in each meeting are comparable. The consistency in analytical procedures is important, as comparison between the interactions taking place in various types of meetings provide a variety of insights on the nature of the international whaling debate.

Another approach to the micro-level examination will be applied to a series of interviews with the researcher that took place in Ayukawa-hama in order to understand the local people's perception of whales, whaling and the local situation under the moratorium. Spradley (1972a,b,1979), who is interested in individual cognitive aspects in decision making, demonstrated the kind of knowledge that individuals in a certain sub-cultural group acquire (cultural repertoire), how he/she organizes his/her knowledge (cognitive map) and how he/she uses it (cultural rules). The researcher, through a detailed ethnographic interviews, will attempt to understand the people's perception. Understanding the local people's knowledge, and its use in dealing with the given situations is useful in order that the phenomenon of social and cultural change may be sufficiently examined. The change phenomenon is complex and dynamic, in that some aspects of newly-introduced material or non-material innovation may be readily accepted by the local people, while other aspects may be rejected. On the individual level, he/she may positively accept and act upon a newly-created situation in one context, while the same individual may react negatively towards it in a different context. Although the researcher will not follow Spradley's methodology to analyze the "cognitive map" of the individual, she will attempt to reach a similar goal through a detailed ethnographic interviews.

Chapter 4 Theoretical Review

A. Introduction

History reveals that no singular society ever existed without some degree of change or modification in plural social and cultural systems. Climatic changes during human history and various technological innovations and their world-wide diffusion have contributed to continuous modification of existing institutions and knowledge systems related to resource utilization. Anthropologists, whose interests are focused on the study of human social and cultural dynamics, have been intensively engaged in an examination of various aspects of change occurring in human societies. Thus, all schools of anthropology have contributed to understanding the nature of social and cultural changes by providing varied perspectives and approaches to such study.

The purpose of this section is twofold: 1) to review the development of theoretical approaches to the study of social and cultural change and 2) to consider the application of two appropriate approaches to a critical analysis of the particular research problem examined in this thesis. First, this section reviews the development of theoretical frameworks in the study of social and cultural change. In the later section, an application of an appropriate theoretical framework will be considered in order to analyze the situation relating to the on-going whaling issue.

B. Theories of social and cultural change

Reviewing theoretical perspectives on social and cultural change developed over two centuries is a complex as well as laborious task. Simply identifying various theoretical approaches is unproductive for gaining an understanding of theoretical developments, because some aspects of fundamental principles in each theoretical approach are often shared.

Furthermore, anthropologists have been modifying elements of the theoretical framework in order to most effectively examine a given situation. Therefore, this chapter will focus on an examination of how different theorists approached their task and the extent to which the fundamental premises of each approach have been modified or maintained over the years.

This review of theories of social and cultural change is divided into two sub-sections : 1) the foundation work, which comprises the classical anthropological works of the nineteenth century that established the basic principles for the study of social and cultural change, and 2) the modern approaches which constitute a variety of theoretical frameworks and modifications that are applicable to the analysis of more recent and current situations.

1) The foundation work

The nineteenth century was the period during which the foundation work in general anthropological theory was carried out. The field of social and cultural change, and more specifically the evolutionary aspect of change, was given special attention during this early period because of an interest generated by the work of Darwin. The notion of evolutionary progress that Darwin brought into biological science had an overwhelming influence on social science (Lowie 1937). This is evident in the work by Lewis Henry Morgan and Karl Marx whose work formed an important foundation both in classical and modern anthropology, in that while the evolutionary view of human history was dominant in the nineteenth century, some aspects of this view continue to be important in current anthropological theory.

The dominant influence of evolutionism continued into the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. However, it was around this time that a new approach to the study of social and cultural change was explored by Emile Durkheim, who introduced a functionalist view in his examination of change.

A summary of the anthropological work on social and cultural change during the foundation period may be best provided by reviewing the works of the above mentioned three theorists : Lewis Henry Morgan, Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim.

a. Lewis Henry Morgan

As noted, social science of the nineteenth century was strongly influenced by Darwin's work on biological evolution. Morgan, like the other social scientists sought a sociological analogue to biological evolution through his ethnographic work in North America (Lowie 1937;Appelbaum 1970). His approach is characterized by a high dependence upon empirical data on the kinship terminology used among the Iroquois and other North American native groups as well as conventional methods of collecting data from secondary sources.

The basic concept which underlies the classical evolutionary theory of the nineteenth century was a movement in the direction of greater complexity, specialization, differentiation and interrelatedness. Furthermore, western industrial urbanized society, and particularly its mid-Victorian manifestations, were inevitably regarded as having reached the highest stages in the evolutionary scheme. It was also a common view among the evolutionists of this period that social conditions were considered to be universally similar at any stage of development. Diverse conditions in physical environment were considered as a source of differences to be observed in social condition. Morgan was interested in examining the scheme of institutional progress, in which changes related to marriage, kinship, government and property were made.

Unilinear theory of social progress dominated social change theory during this period. Morgan completed Ancient Society (1877), in which he proposed the three-stage-evolution of human society from savagery, through barbarism to civilization. Morgan examined a correlation between major innovations and certain economic activities, social customs and political institution of the globe during this period of time, utilising sociological material on Australian and American aboriginal people, and the people of ancient Greece and Rome, which societies he ordered into his evolutionary scheme (Lowie 1937).

Another historic contribution in the comparative study of kinship was made by Morgan through his book System of Consanguinity and Affinity (1871), in which he proposed an evolutionary development of marriage and family based on the vast amount of data on kinship nomenclatures of the world.

Morgan's work was criticized for a lack of applicability of his proposed scheme to existing human societies (Lowie 1937; Appelbaum 1970). The criticism was intensified as more ethnographic data demonstrated the inapplicability of his scheme. However, Morgan's recognition of a correlation between systems of kinship and other sociological factors provided an important basis for later kinship studies in social anthropology. Furthermore, Morgan's scheme of unilinear social evolution was marked as a pioneering work which gave a lead to other social scientists such as Karl Marx to further develop evolutionary perspectives on human history.

b. Karl Marx

Karl Marx is another important nineteenth century theorist who had a considerable influence on social science of that period and thereafter. Marx relied heavily on anthropologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan for ethnographic data as well as for inspiration for his work. Marx's theory is often referred to as conflict theory, in that he regards societies as potentially unstable and change as endemic to all social organizations. This concept contrasts to Morgan's evolutionary theory and Durkheim's functionalist theories, which consider human society as a functionally integrated unit and structurally stable (Appelbaum 1970;Bloch 1985).

Marx's main interest was to reveal how the capitalist social system came into being in the context of human history. He was also interested in demonstrating how the capitalist system and exploitation of workers constitute an inseparable end product of a long human history. Marx attempted to explain the historical mechanism of the social system by analyzing the forces of production (technology, property, etc.) and the relations of production (social organization) in analyzing the capitalist system. Marx's theory of change was based on conflicts arising between the relations of production and the social system; he further argued that the relations of production come to dominate the social system. Technological change increases tension between the forces of production and the relations of production, causing structural changes within society as a result of class struggle between the people who control the forces of production and the working class who have limited control over these same forces of production. Around 1880 when Marx first encountered the work of Morgan, Marx along with Engels became intensively engaged in the study of social structure and evolutionary changes of pre-capitalist societies analyzed in terms of systems of organization for producing material goods. For Marx and Engels, ideas and values were reduced to "ideology" or "false consciousness" which simply gives the appearance of legitimacy to exploitation. In The German Ideology (1846, 1970), Marx and Engels examined forms of marriage, family, property and gender relations within tribal societies and hypothesized the evolutionary stages of human social systems from the hunting and fishing stages to the agricultural stage. This scheme was later criticised by anthropologists such as Sahlins who proposed the notion of hunters as the original "affluent society" (Sahlins 1968). This notion which contradicts the evolutional progression hypothesis characterizes hunting society as stable and efficient.

c. Emile Durkheim

France in the nineteenth century entered a period of social revolts and uncertainty. Emile Durkheim, given these unstable social conditions, became interested in finding out the means which enable a society to maintain its social solidarity. French sociology of this period found a new dimension in which Durkheim sought a universality of social unity based on data collected cross-culturally (Bellar 1973).

Durkheim's approach is evolutionary, although he rejects the idea of unilinear social evolution. He focused on an increasing social complexity, differentiation and reintegration as indispensable elements in social evolution. In the Division of Labour in Society (1893,1947), Durkheim developed his theory that social solidarity created by the division of labour is the essential property of society and that it fulfils the functional needs of a society. Unlike the conflict theorists such as Karl Marx, Durkheim saw a society as essentially unified and subject to control by a collective social morality. The term "solidarite" was his key concept to describe how human society in different levels of societal complexity forms itself as a solidary unit. Pre-industrial society, according to Durkheim, is characterized by its mechanical solidarity, in that members of the society are interchangeably similar and are unified by kinship and other social institutions. As the economy of the society grows and the social complexity increases, the economic activities become more specialized and differentiated. Integration of the specialized labour force become intensified in industrial societies where kinship ties lose their functions and economic interdependency among different sectors of society becomes more important (Lowie 1937).

In short, Durkheim considered that increasing numbers of people in interaction determined the nature of social relationships. That is, the number of persons in potential interaction is necessarily small when the society is small, and as the number increases, societies become segmented into sub-units which together constitute the larger social unit. Mechanical solidarity is eventually replaced by organic solidarity when the society grows in density and mechanical solidarity ceased to function as a sole integrating mechanism.

Durkheim is also a functionalist in his view that certain social factors can only be explained by their functional relation to other social factors. He presented a thorough analysis of mutual interdependency of social system and religion and demonstrated in Suicide (1892,1951) how such integration functions to create social solidarity and cohesiveness among people. It is apparent that Durkheim's view of social change which is evolutionary as well as functional, created a substantial basis for some modern social science theories, which will be discussed later in this section.

2) The modern approaches

Study of social and cultural change intensified in recent times as world-wide modernization continued and the need for a more effective theoretical framework to analyze changing situations became increasingly great. Thus, refining and revising the foundation work has been continuously carried out by anthropologists in order to improve theoretical approaches for understanding complex situations created by internal and external forces of change.

This section will introduce various modern approaches to the study of social and cultural change. In order to demonstrate some logical continuity between certain aspects of classical theories and the modern approaches, these recent theoretical approaches are discussed under seven headings: 1) Diffusionism, 2) Modernization, 3) Acculturation, 4) Neo-evolutionism, 5) Neo-Marxism, 6) Interactional analysis, and 7) Endogenous Development. Furthermore, for each of these approaches, an effort will be made to explore four major aspects, namely : 1) fundamental premises, 2) variables to be considered, 3) application to anthropological analysis and 4) some criticism.

a. Diffusionism

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a great effort was made to construct a hypothetical scheme of human history within the framework of evolutionism. As a reaction to such extremism among the evolutionists, a group of anthropologists in Germany attempted to reconstruct human cultural history from the perspectives of diffusionism, in which they examined distribution of cultural elements throughout the world and analyzed when and how a cultural element was introduced from one culture to another. The diffusionist approach was developed mainly by German anthropologists such as W.Schmidt and Leo Frobenius between the end of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century (Oka 1982).

The primary difference between evolutionism and diffusionism is found in their assumptions with regards to human psyche. Evolutionists argued that all human mental functions are the same irrespective of place and time. All humans think the same, behave in the same way and organize social institution in the same way. They further argue that the observable differences among the different societies are due to the differences in levels in the evolutionary progress. That is, every society in the world, given the same physical condition, will evolve to the same level progressing through the same evolutionary stages. Diffusionists objected to the evolutionary principles that underlay the evolutionists premises and argued that human civilization grew in all periods of history and in all regions of the world. Furthermore, they argued that an objective analysis of cultural diffusion and human migration throughout history enable us to reconstruct an accurate human cultural history.

Schmidt completed an important work of Kulturkleislehre (cultural area), in which he demonstrated the world-wide distribution of Kulturkreis (cultural circles) in the historical context (Oka 1982). Schmidt and his followers were concerned with establishing a methodology to objectively measure the historical relationship existing between different cultural elements. Qualitatkriterium (quality criterion) was one means to evaluate such a relationship, in that certain cultural elements are considered as related when a distinct resemblance is identified. In addition to developing a means to measure spatial relationships between cultural elements, Schmidt considered an objective means to measure temporal relationships. Through a three-stage evaluation, two distinct attributes of culture are established: Kulturkreis (cultural circles), which is a spatial unit of culture, and Kulturschicht (cultural mass), which is a temporal unit of culture. Schmidt further stated that a Kulturkomplex (cultural complex) is recognized when the given Kulturkomplex includes all of the categories essential to human life such as material culture, economy, society, customs, religion. His complete work on Kulturkleislehre was published in Volker und Kulturen (People and Culture) (1924).

The readers of Schmidt's reconstruction of human cultural history were not convinced of its legitimacy as an accurate description of historical reality. Some were simply not convinced, noting that some cultural elements may have arisen independently without going through a process of diffusion (Lowie 1937). Some harsh critiques stated that Schmidt differs from Morgan mainly in denying unilinear evolution but that his scheme implied clear-cut evolution (Lowie 1937).

b. Modernization

The modernization theory owes a great deal to Max Weber, who is a conceptual founder (Appelbaum 1970) and Talcott Parsons who established the theoretical bases for a formulation of this approach. The principal concept that underlies modernization theory is functional-structuralism heavily influenced by the concept of equilibrium.

The concept of equilibrium originated in the biological sciences in the mid-twentieth century and can be defined as the state of uniformity in which any small change in one of the elements will cause changes in other elements (Appelbaum 1970). As the concept of equilibrium was introduced to general social science, anthropology borrowed it, and has used it as the basis for the functional-structural approach. Parsons regards the concept of stability or equilibrium as the defining characteristic of social structure (Appelbaum 1970).

Although functional analysis is often criticized for its preoccupation with structural stability, Parson explains the dynamics of structural changes in that specialized systems and the sub-systems in social structure are potentially unstable and that a series of boundary exchanges of such systems and sub-system with each other or with other elements outside of its own social system force the total social structure to undergo functional adaptation. In short, Parsons regards social structural characteristics as being stable and having the potential for gradual evolutionary change. It was this point that the later social scientists found insufficient for explaining drastic structural changes that occur commonly in the human society.

Modernization theorists viewed the progress of modernization within a framework of cultural evolution, in that those societies developing first, namely the western societies, changed from within, and the rest of the world became the followers of the western countries. Parson's distinction between exogenous sources of change and endogenous sources of change forms the basis for his modernization scheme (Parson 1961). Furthermore, he emphasized the importance of exogenous sources of change, which originated in other social organization. The exogenous source in the modernization model refers to the western industrialized countries who had autonomously made an endogenous change in their social system.

The process of modernization is analyzed most commonly in terms of the economic dimensions of the society. That is, modernization is viewed as economic growth. Moore, in reviewing Parson's work (1963) defines modernization as :

> A 'total' transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the type of technology and associated social organization that characterize the advanced, economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World (ibid.:89).

The comparison of the modernization model to the endogenous development model in the later part of this chapter will reveal common characteristics as well as provide a criticism of the modernization model.

c. Acculturation

The concept of acculturation came into use around the end of the nineteenth century when encounters between the European traders and missionaries and the non-European tribal people became frequent. The early work on acculturation tended to ascribe one-way cultural change from a dominant group to a dominated group as constituting the phenomenon of acculturation. In other words, assimilation was the expected outcome of acculturation. However, it became apparent on closer observation that the dominated group could choose to either accept a change or could modify or reject it. Thus, the concept and methods of investigating acculturation were later modified to cover more complex cultural change phenomena.

Noteworthy among the numerous pioneering works of this time, was a workable concept and guidelines for the study of acculturation completed by the Social Science Research Council (R.Redfield, R.Linton, M.J.Herskovits 1936). At that period of time it was the most comprehensive and systematic, as well as the most practical, approach to the study of social and cultural change. Herskovits (1958), in his summary of this work, first presented their definition of acculturation:

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (ibid.:10).

This definition was meant to clarify some confusion of the use of the terms such as "culture-change", "assimilation", and "diffusion". These terms apparently had been used in a confusing manner at that time so that the concept of acculturation was misunderstood. Herskovits further elaborated on this point and stated that:

> Culture-change, of which it is but one aspect and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation ...diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition given, but also constitute only one aspect of the process of acculturation" (1958:10).

In short, the given definition of acculturation appears to encompass all other phenomena as potential elements of acculturation.

The most important part of the work by the Social Science Research Council was the completion of the outline for the study of acculturation, which detailed the recommended processes of such study. According to the outline, four major processes are involved: 1)document gathering, analysis and the decision on methodology, 2) analysis of types, situations, processes of acculturation, 3)psychological mechanisms of selection and integration of traits under acculturation, and 4) the result of acculturation, acceptance, adaptation, or rejection (Redfield et al. 1936:146-152;Herskovits 1958:131-136). It is noteworthy that the outline included the potential contra-acculturative movement to be analyzed, despite the fact that acculturation is often criticised for its presumption of assimilation. Wallace's work on the revitalization movement (1956) further theorized the phenomenon of the contra-acculturative movement.

The earlier work on acculturation was concerned with classification of types of changes occurring through analyzing the results of acculturation phenomena. However, there seems to be an apparent shift in the nature of research interest and methodology to accommodate a subjective problem-solving task using the acculturation concept. Such modification was necessary given the growing concern over social and cultural problems resulting from various cultural contacts. Graves (1967) points out some evident connections between acculturation and the alcoholism and deviant behaviour among the three ethnic groups in a community in the United States of America. He constructed an acculturation index and analyzed his ethnographic material concerning these three ethnic groups, then concluded that acculturation affected social psychological controls that normally served to keep socially disruptive behaviour within tolerable bounds. Graves' work is noteworthy in that he demonstrated how the concept of acculturation is useful in examining the cause of an on-going social problem. Continuous efforts have been made to establish a quantitative model in which acculturation can be objectively measured (Padilla 1980).

The criticism of the acculturation model centres around the typological nature of the analyses, which is quite evident in the earlier studies. Although an effort to improve the approach had been made by adoption of quantified means of analysis, an inability to examine the process of change poses a limit to its usefulness.

d. Neo-evolutionism

The early part of the twentieth century was a period of forceful reaction toward evolutionism. In Germany, the diffusionists tried to explain cultural differences by their diffusionist approach. At the same time, British anthropologists were preoccupied with their functionalist approach. In the United States, under the influence of a strong opposition to the evolutionism of the nineteenth century, anthropologists were concerned with the accumulation of ethnographic data, followed, in the 1930's by a period when study of culture and personality became intensified. It was in this intellectual environment that neo-evolutionism was developed by Leslie.A. White and Julian.H. Steward, whose approach is often referred to as cultural ecology (Ellen 1982; Moran 1982).

White was interested in the broader details of evolution and supported a unilinear evolutionary scheme. His focus was on the relationship between human social complexity and its harnessing of energy. White argued that levels of energy used in a society determined levels of evolutionary process (White 1959;Orlove 1980). Because of his emphasis on energy use as a determinative measure, White's approach was often called "Energy Determinism".

Steward, on the other hand, argued from a multilinear evolutionary perspective, in which he stressed physical environment and technology as important determinants of cultural evolution (Steward 1955). In support of his position, he proposed examination of three fundamental procedures: 1) the relationships between environment and exploitation of productive technology, 2) the patterns of behaviour involved in appropriation through a specific technology in a particular area and 3) the extent to which behaviour patterns involved in appropriation influence other aspects of culture (ibid. 39-40).

Unlike the earlier evolutionists, Steward was not interested in establishing a set of cultural evolutionary steps. However, his aim was to demonstrate a functional relationship between physical environmental conditions and social and cultural patterns such as population density, settlement patterns, and social organization. Steward further stated that the set of variables to be examined were to be decided by empirical analysis. These variables were called the "cultural core", which included the elements of social, political and religious patterns that were closely connected to the use of environment (Steward 1955). Thus, he attempted to demonstrate how different cultural cores developed different social institutions, which supported his idea of multilinear evolution of human culture. In short, Steward viewed change as an aspect of a society's techno-environmental adaptation through which a functional relationship between the "cultural core" and the environment was maintained.

Steward's controversial work "Tappers and Trappers" (1956) presents his methodology in more concrete form. Steward and co-author Robert F.Murphy demonstrated two cases of acculturation:the Mundurucu tappers in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkian trappers, after contact with traders. Steward and Murphy, first looked at the kinship structure, hunting patterns and the available resources, and examined changes at each stages of contact with traders. The two groups before contact were dissimilar in social and economic terms. However, Steward and Murphy present as conclusions a tabular comparison of the two cases to demonstrate increasing post-contact similarities including: 1) both groups became involved in a mercantile, barter economy, 2) growing ties of dependency upon the traders at the expense of collective bonds within the societies, 3) while crude latex and animal fur are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation, 4) rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require in each case, that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from each other.

Steward and Murphy demonstrated effectively that the acculturation among two distinct social groups in different localities resulted in the emergence of similar types of social and cultural conditions, or in their term, "cultural core". They emphasized also that their cultural ecology approach differs from environmental determinism in that the bio-physical environment does not serve as a decisive factor in these cases.

Another important theorist in the neo-evolutionary approach is Marshall Sahlins (1960), who distinguished between "general" and "specific evolution", in contradiction to White's and Steward's theoretical view on evolution. Sahlins stated that "in both its biological and cultural spheres evolution moves in one direction to create diversity through adaptive modification, and in the other direction to generate the general evolutionary progress. The first of the two directions was called "specific evolution" and the second "general evolution". Sahlins clearly sees cultural evolution as analogous to biological evolution in that evolution both in biological and cultural terms moves in the direction of increasing energy use, which necessarily requires a differentiation into particular adaptation, adjusting to the exploitation of a given environment. He further pointed out four elements unique to cultural evolution : 1) cultural variation can be transmitted by diffusion, 2) separate cultural traditions may converge by coalescence, 3) partial phylogenetic continuity sometimes occurs between successive general stages of cultural evolution, 4) replacement of a less highly developed by a more progressive cultural form can be accomplished by diffusion or acculturation (ibid.:27).

Growing out of neo-evolutionism, Marvin Harris, and the earlier work of Andrew P. Vayda and Roy Rappaport shifted towards a functionalist approach in reaction to the Stewardian position (Harris 1980;Orlove 1980). Vayda and Rappaport's approach differs from the earlier functionalist approach in that they are concerned with the local population as the unit of study rather than social order. Their focused attention was given to specific aspects of social organization and culture in terms of the functions served in adapting local population to their environment.

Harris's approach also differs from the Stewardian approach. Although they both view human population within the context of ecosystems emphasising energy and nutrient cycling, they differ in their view of the importance of a given physical environment in determinating the social and cultural structure of the society. Harris viewed ideology and social organization as adaptive responses to conditions created by the techno-economic sphere. Such an approach is often referred to as techno-environmental determinism, for its strong emphasis on the environment as a determinant of human social dynamics.

The third stage of the cultural ecology approach, namely the transactional model, was marked by the work of Frederick Barth who emphasized the need for a processual approach. Barth argued that social behaviour should be dealt with as process rather than as an integrated system of moral directives as viewed in structural-functionalism. In another words, the focus of study, according to transactional anthropology, is an examination of the generative mechanism of various social forms, rather than typology (Kapferer 1976). Furthermore, Barth viewed "transaction" and "exchange" of material and non-material prestations as the key institution through which social behaviour is best studied (Barth 1967, 1969).

The concept of profit maximization, from the point of view of a given social actor, principally distinguishes the transactional approach from the other schools of cultural ecology. Barth argued "people make allocation in terms of pay-offs that they hope to obtain, and their most adequate bases for predicting pay-offs are found in their previous experience or in that of others in their community" (Barth 1967:668). Barth's contribution to the study of social change and the issues relating to ethnic identity is noteworthy in that the actor-centred perspectives and the concept of profit-maximization helped intensify an examination of the internal social dynamics of human groups. Profit in the sense used by Barth includes such non-economic criteria as social reward, prestige and political influence.

The criticism of cultural ecology stems from its emphasis on techno-environment as a dominant determinant of social and cultural change. As Godelier (1975) pointed out in an example of two groups of trappers in the Labrador peninsula, the ethnographic data shows that there does not appear to be any logical correlation between the social and cultural system that people develop and modify and the techno-environment within which they operate. Cultural ecology has also been criticized for its inability to explain the causal relationship between techno-environment and the social system existing during the evolutionary process; the question of how techno-environmental adaptation or the process of evolution occurs remains unanswered. Cultural ecology is sufficient to classify forms of adaptation but it cannot demonstrate the process. Michael Asch's criticism (1974) in addition to the two points mentioned above, focuses on a treatment of human consciousness. He stated that cultural ecologists view human population as being passive in responding to change, and that populations exist without exerting control over the process of change. Asch urges the need for changing the perspectives and involving the concept of human consciousness so that anthropological research can analyze reality in which members of society engage in making conscious change.

e. Neo-Marxism

The nineteenth century Marxist theory was revitalized in a modified form in modern anthropology. The two main schools of Marxism were developed in the 1970's, which later gave rise to other sub-schools. Structural Marxism, one of the two main neo-Marxist theories was developed in France and England by anthropologists such as Maurice Godelier and Jonathan Friedman, who effectively combined the earlier Marxist framework with structuralism. The other school of Marxism was political economy, which emerged in the United States of America. Political economy is distinct from structural

Marxism because of its more marked economic orientation (Ortner 1984;Bloch 1985).

Godelier, having studied under Levi-Strauss, became interested in developing new Marxist theories of pre-capitalist societies based on the nineteenth century Marxist concept which he viewed as too Eurocentric (Bloch 1985). What made structural Marxism distinct from the existing cultural ecology or materialist approaches current at the time was that it shifted the focus from techno-environment to an analysis of the social organization of production. Thus, structural Marxists turned their attention from the material objects in the physical environment and focused on the social relations embodied and symbolized by those objects, which are termed "the modes of production" (Firth 1975;Ortner 1984). Structural Marxists also gave full recognition to belief and value systems which reveal the practical adaptive functions of certain behaviour.

Structural Marxism was also different from the earlier Marxism. While the earlier Marxism was mainly concerned with class struggles in which changes in means of production impose inevitable modification within the relations of production, structural Marxism pays attention to social relations such as kinship, descent, marriage, exchange, domestic organization and recognizes a functional relationship between means of production and relations of production.

In his paper "Modes of Production, Kinship and Demographic Structures" (1975), Godelier set out to demonstrate the effect of relations of production at a given level of development of the productive force. He looked at kinship, alliance, demographic structures and the material conditions of the subject group, by reviewing ethnographic material of hunting and gathering groups. Godelier, first introduced the Australian marriage system and explained, through the work of Yengoyan, that kinship relations and alliance are modified to accommodate changes that occurred in the material basis. Another example demonstrates how the former marriage rules were reactivated when the new economic system provided sufficient material and demographic conditions. Through reviewing more examples, Godelier stressed the multifunctional nature of institutions such as kinship, religion, and the politico-religious system. Godelier, in conclusion, argues the need for an examination of the conditions under which certain social relations take on the necessary functions in relations of production.

Structural Marxism has its strength and weakness. The structuralist's perspectives of the social relationship in the process of material production widened the scope of discussion, which now allows anthropologists to explore the social dimensions of a given society. However, the non-historical nature of structuralism, on the other hand, creates problems for the structural Marxists, and inadequately addresses change having any historical time depth. Another criticism focuses on the concept of culture, in that structural Marxism maintains the narrow interpretation of culture which originated in nineteenth century Marxism (Ortner 1984).

The political economy school forms another branch of modern Marxism. Seeking an appropriate framework within which to study peasant communities, political economists such as Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz refer back to Marxism, more specifically to Marx's discussion of the place of the peasantry in capitalist society (Mintz 1975;Bloch 1985). Political economists deal with the large-scale regional political economic system, looking at the effects of capitalist penetration upon those communities (Ortner 1984;Roseberry 1988). Thus they view the process of the historical formation of the peasant as being substantially influenced by the larger history of capitalism.

In contrast to cultural ecologists whose interest was focused on techno-environment, political economists extended their interest to cover symbolic systems which, in their view, enforce class and group identity of the peasant society

(Taussing 1980). They also examine local and larger history which provides calculable information on the processes through which capitalist penetration over an extended period of time came into effect (Schneider 1978). The goal of their work is to understand the processes of capitalist penetration and the social and cultural implications of this penetration on the peasant community.

Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider (1976) have examined the history of Western Sicily utilizing a political economy approach. They analyzed the history of this region extending over several centuries during which time Western Sicily changed from an exporter of wheat to an exporter of people. Sicily's role in European economy as well as its political history was described. Schneider and Schneider classified Sicily as a "colonial state on the periphery of the Spanish Empire, where political controls were under-minded by economic realities" (ibid.:41). After discussion of the cultural codes of the people in Western Sicily, Schneider and Schneider concluded that Sicily's economic decline was due to its environment and the lack of resource potential.

Criticism directed toward the political economy approach centred around its view of history whereby local history is often treated as a passive entity which is composed of a series of impacts created by the penetration of capitalism. Another criticism targets the attitude of political economists towards the subject community in that they tend to maintain an extremely rigid view of the peasant community reflecting the capitalist perception of the situation (Ortner 1984;Roseberry 1988).

The newer theoretical approaches with Marxist roots came to the attention of anthropologists in the 1980's. Pierre Bourdieu and Clifford Geertz were the forerunners of the new approach, called the practice approach, whose ultimate questions were how "the system" was produced and how changes occurred (Ortner 1984). Practice approach theorists criticised the earlier modern Marxist's approach for its absence of consideration of individuals and their behaviour, and proposed an action-based approach in which an analysis of individual choice and decision making formed a core. Symbolic systems are an indispensable part of the analysis as it is in symbolism that individual consciousness and values are imbedded (Ortner 1989).

Practice approach is Marxist in that "the most important forms of action or interaction for analytic purposes are those which takes place in asymmetrical or dominant relation" (1984:147). Thus, practice theory assumes that human society is essentially conflictive and that the people continuously struggle to overcome the conflict. Change, therefore, is a product of conflict resolution. In Sherry Ortner's work on the rituals among Sherpas (1978), she first introduces the history of the Sherpas in Nepal, and then, through careful observation of individual behaviour, she analyses Nyunge, a Buddhist ritual in which local people spend a certain period of time observing strict rules of renunciation in a local temple. Ortner sought to explain the relationship existing between the non-social nature of this ritual and the marriage system and the problems related to the marriage. She concluded that religion is "a way of coping with, but also perhaps a weapon in the conflict produced by their children's movement toward marriage" (ibid.:59).

Modes of production, according to William Roseberry, is a synthesis of the main schools of modern Marxism, in which "Firth's cerebral and gut Marxism, or Ortner's structural Marxism and political economy are joined" (1988:167). The concept of modes of production assumes that human consciousness and involvement in social relationships are for the purpose of material production. Thus, people's rational choices play an indispensable role in the process of material production (Asch 1974). Modes of production are sub-divided into two components : 1) forces of production and 2) social relations of production. Land or natural resources, technology and labour are examined as forces of production.

All aspects of relationships that relate to the production process such as ownership and control are looked upon as elements of social relations. In the modes of production approach, operation of the system of material production is viewed as a result of harmonious function of forces of production and social relations of production, allowing flexibility to accommodate variation and modification in the structure.

Efficient functioning of modes of production necessarily creates a structural stability in the production system in a given society. However, structural change is also inevitable. Michael Asch summarizes three conditions in which structural change take place : 1) an individual's conscious knowledge of an alternative method of material reproduction that includes a clear concept of alternative forces of production, 2) the development of existing production forces to sufficiently sustain the new relations of production, 3) the political ability to mobilize collective action to ensure the realization of a particular transformation (1974:93).

In his analysis of the production system among the Slavey Indian, Asch introduces suitable material to examine the methodology of modes of production. Asch first looks at the social unit of production that is, in this case, the local band. Seasonal availability of wildlife and the technology and systems to procure them are described. The social dimension of the modes of production among these people are characterized by collective control of resources. Subsistence technology and labour power were controlled by individuals and transportation routes were communal as a part of the land resource. Then, the unique patterns of production fluctuation, due to the variability of the resource base, was analyzed and Asch points out that the Slavey adopted a strategy whereby people moved to areas of potential surplus. In sum, modes of production emphasizes an integrated relationship between forces of production and the social relations of production.

f. Interactional Approaches

Following the Durkheimian approach to the question of social order, anthropologists such as Gregory Bateson and Conrad Arensberg have empirically examined the way in which a person interacts with specific others, in order to understand the principles governing the social organization of behaviour (McDermott and Roth 1978;Bateson 1958;Goffman 1959, 1961, 1967, 1971;Spradley 1972a,b). Their assumption is that people acquire structured rules for appropriate behaviour in interaction with others and that they organize their behaviour according to the acquired rules, or the so-called "cognitive map". Such approaches have been adopted into several sub-disciplines such as cognitive anthropology, conversational analysis, ethology, ethnomethodology, exchange theory, kinesics, network analysis, sociolinguistics, and symbolic analysis. The common concerns among these sub-disciplines are the concern for communicative codes, native knowledge and information management.

The concept of culture in sub-disciplines that utilize interactional approaches sharply differs from that of other sub-disciplines of anthropology. Culture, in traditional anthropology, is considered as a context which provides parameters for the organization of behaviour. Thus, cultural context is viewed as the independent variable while behaviour is viewed as the dependent variable. However, interactional approaches view behaviour as a constituent part of those contexts. Culture therefore, is a kinetic entity inseparable from behaviour, that is constantly modified in response to stimuli. Erving Goffman refers to culture rule as "a specified and obligatory kind of ritual equilibrium" (1967:45). The treatment of change in the interactional approaches is noteworthy. As noted earlier, culture is viewed as potentially kinetic in that change is a natural response to stimuli. Interactional approaches further recognize various types of change responses to the given stimuli (Boulding

1972;Spiro 1972). One type of change occurs when a certain cultural norm or norms systematically frustrates important needs. Restructuring the cognitive map then takes place in order to successfully integrate the innovation into the existing map. Another type of change occurs when a given stimulus reaches to the core of the cultural system and creates a radical restructuring of the cognitive map. In sum, the interactional approaches consider that change is inherent in the cultural system, which has a potential for varying degrees of restructuring in appropriate circumstances.

Among the numerous sub-models of the interactional approaches, Erving Goffman and James P. Spradley each established workable frameworks for examination of social interactions. Goffman's face-to-face interactional model presupposes that every human society mobilizes its members as self-regulating participants in social encounters and that " (each member) is taught to be perceptive, to have feelings attached to self and a self expressed through face, to have pride, honour and dignity, to have considerateness, to have tact and a certain amount of poise" (Goffman 1967:44). According to this model, a participant unit of an interaction, i.e. an individual or a team, carry out communicative acts following her/his/their cultural rules that are consistent with the moral rules of the given society, in order that they may be able to maintain a specified and obligatory kind of ritual equilibrium. Goffman's contribution is a conceptualization of numerous interactional phenomena such as ; "face" (ibid.), "a vehicular/participation unit", "the territories of self" "supportive interchanges" "tie-signs" (1971), "front", "dramatic realization", "idealization" etc. (1959).

Spradley's model provides an elaborated discussion on cultural knowledge, which he defines as a concept formation through categorization of perceived experience (1972a). Furthermore, he defines human interaction as essentially symbolic interaction, governed by the given cultural knowledge/rules, and writes: "Nearly every movement, sound, odour, or touch of another human being acts as a symbol which we learn to interpret" (ibid.:16). In this model, cultural behaviour, or human actions are viewed as a set of customary behaviour restricted by the society's cultural rules shared by the members. This property of rules enables individuals to anticipate the behaviour of other people.

Successful use of the concepts of cultural knowledge/rules and cultural behaviour is reflected in Spradley's extensive examination of the complex urban situation in which he established the concept of "subculture" or "micro culture". Spradley's model is effective in analyzing a complex multi-cultural or multi-subcultural situation because it takes into account micro-cultural restriction on individual behaviour.

The interactional approaches are often criticized for being a micro scale analytical model, in which only events in an extremely limited time frame are sufficiently examined. R.P.McDermott and David R. Roth counter-argue that "macro studies must define the interactional mechanism in terms of which their variables can be said to work" (1978:322).

g. Endogenous development

Japanese folklore study, the long established academic discipline in Japan founded by Yanagita Kunio, has made a substantial contribution in the study of social and cultural change. Yanagita's extensive description of folk belief, customs, kinship relations, social institutions, and other aspects of the villagers life led to the formation of an approach to an analysis of changes, called endogenous development. (Tsurumi 1975, 1979 a,b,c, 1989;Tsurumi and Kawata 1989). Yanagita's strong conviction that *Jōmin* (common men), rather than the elite and intellectuals, is the key agent of social and cultural change, remains a principal concept in this approach.

In reaction to modernization theory, which relies heavily on the principles of a functional-evolutionary framework, Tsurumi Kazuko stated that the non-western countries are also endogenous developers, who adaptively accommodated some externally-developed innovations whilst rejecting others in the process of modernization (1975:1-2). She took the initiative to formalize Yanagita's approach by defining the concept of endogenous development and conceptualizing several significant components in Yanagita's approach.

Endogenous development emphasizes "the endogeneity and creativity of the people in defining their goals and directing their courses of development in their respective local community" (Tsurumi 1989). The concept of *Jōmin* as a true change agent is of prime importance in this approach. *Jōmin* is;

> A ruled rather than a ruler, one of the majority of a people, whose life and work depends on a spoken rather than written language and who has a settled domicile in a specific area. He inherits the patterns of doing, thinking and feeling from the previous generation who have dwelled in that area, and takes time to transform those inherited patterns with his own wisdom to make them fit to the changing conditions of his life. He does not succumb to what he considers contrary to his standard of reasonableness, whoever the opponent may be (1975:12).

There are a number of variables that require examination in the endogenous development approach. A multiplex community is viewed as a means of facilitating local-level participatory democracy and self-rule. Numerous social institutions tie the members of community vertically as well as horizontally, and provide diverse opportunities for the villagers to participate in decision making. Tsurumi makes a distinction between a development through decentralization in which participatory democracy accommodates changes, and the administrative elite's model of modernization which is carried out through centralized decision-making and programme initiation. She further states that the two modes of development operate together in some change situations.

Tsurumi summarized the features of endogenous development in comparison to those of the theory of modernization as follows:

> 1) The unit of modernization is the society as a whole, whose boundary coincides with the nation-state. In contrast, the unit of endogenous development is the locale, more limited and smaller than the nation-state.
>
> 2) Economic growth, in terms of the size of GNP, is the major index of modernization. In contrast, human development is the essential measure of endogenous development and economic development is a condition for its realization.
>
> 3) Ecological soundness and harmony with nature are requirements for endogenous development, whereas environmental consideration is lacking in the theory of modernization.
>
> 4) The agents of modernization are the political and industrial elites, whereas the agents of endogenous development are the people of the local communities.
>
> 5) According to modernization theory, in order to modernize, pre-industrial traditions need to be overcome, the sooner, the better. In contrast, in the process of endogenous development, pre-industrial legacies in social structure, cultural and spiritual traditions, as well as technology are renovated by the people.
>
> 6) The Western European countries, from whose historical experience the theory of modernization was derived, share the common spiritual heritage, namely Christianity. Non-western countries, on whose experience the theory of endogenous development is based, however, have diverse spiritual legacies, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, Animism, Shamanism, etc., together with Christianity. Each religious faith has different views of nature, man-nature and man-to-man relationships (1989:2-3).

Endogenous development theory sharply contrasts with evolutionism, in that the endogenous development theory denies any concept of progressive stages in its development scheme. Rather, a history of common people is viewed as a mixture of the new patterns and the old ones. Tsurumi terms this developmental scheme the "Icicle model". Thus, endogenous development theory is characterized by "a synchronic cross-sectional view of a society in which the patterns of life of many previous periods coexist with the newest modes" (1975:15).

While endogenous development theory focuses attention on local people, whom Tsurumi refers to as *Jōmin*, as the real change agents, Tsurumi emphasizes the existence of influential individuals among the common people who take necessary risks to initiate the changes. Tsurumi termed such an individual "a key person" and identified his/her role as being an indispensable part of endogenous development, since it is "a key person" who directs the course of changes through local traditional social network systems.

The endogenous development approach was applied to the analysis of the Minamata mercury pollution case (1979c). Tsurumi, first, described a series of events leading up to the disclosure of a serious case of mercury pollution in the fishing villages in the Minamata area. She concludes that it was their folk belief of nature worship and ancestor worship that motivated the affected individuals to take legal action against the company. The function of traditional village solidarity in this process was also pointed out. An initiative to revitalize this fishing community has been taken by several local people including Minamata victims. Their idea of the future of the community is rooted in a vision of an improvement of people's living conditions locally as well as globally.

3) Discussion

The brief review of the major theoretical approaches that are presented in the earlier part of this chapter has revealed several characteristics observable in the historical development of various models for the study of social and cultural change. These characteristics are summarized in this section.

1. The scope of the study of social and cultural change has made a drastic shift from a reconstruction of human history to an analysis of changes occurring within a social system. The earlier models are focused solely on establishing a generalized account of progressive stages that human society attains. The recent approaches during the twentieth century, on the other hand, are more concerned with a situational analysis of changes occurring in a given society at a particular place and time.

2. There appears to be a change in the goal of the analysis, particularly in the more recent approaches. The earlier modern approaches, such as the acculturation models, primarily analyze the result of change and conclude with a generalized typology of change results, such as acceptance, adaptation or reaction to change. This tendency is stronger among the nineteenth-century models which used secondary sources of data to reconstruct the social evolutionary sequence. However, the more recent approaches show a growing interest in the process of change. Within the school of cultural ecology, Barth (1967) criticizes the traditional typological and comparative approach to analyzing change, which in his view, failed to examine individual actors and individual management units as a key mechanism generating social change. The recent Neo-Marxists whose interest focused on pre-capitalist society, have been expressly concerned with why and how change occurs. For example, the political economy model attempts to answer the questions by looking at peasant society within the larger political and economic environment. Neo-Marxists believe that capitalist penetration in the historical context reveals the true mechanism of social change. The modes of production model claims that the social relations of production, in which land ownership is crucial, is a key driving force of social change. The practical model tries to reach the same goal through cognitive analysis of individual behaviour.

3. There has been an overt shift in the unit of analysis

from an extremely broad category of human group, such as man in a universal sense or a broad cultural category, to a locally-specified or ethnically distinct group, which may often be identified as a community. The gradual shift of this nature is observable in the transition from the nineteenth-century anthropological approach to the modern approach. However, a sharp contrast in the unit of analysis is identified when modernization theory and endogenous development theory are employed. Tsurumi (1975) notes that a community-unit of analysis is necessary in order to analyze a locally initiated development which results from the endogeneity and creativity of the community people in contrast to a development imposed on the local community by the larger political unit or an external force. Practice theory examines the social system as a unit of analysis of which individuals are a sub-unit. Moreover, intensive observation of individual behaviour and actions are characteristic of this approach.

Interactional approaches demonstrate an extremely micro-level model, in which behaviour of individuals during face-to-face public interactions are examined. Research data utilized in this approach are primarily limited to behaviour of individuals who participate in certain interactions which last for a limited duration of time.

4. The treatment of history in the analysis of change has varied over the years. Morgan and Marx were essentially concerned with a reconstruction of human history, so that a consideration of history was not only an important element but the goal of their study. The emergence of the functional-structural approach by Durkheim opened up a new area in which society was analyzed within fixed time frames. Non-historical analysis of change was adopted by different theoretical models, one of which is the Stewardian approach known for its functional analysis of the "cultural core" and the surrounding techno-environment. Although the functional-structuralist view of society contributed to the understanding of the coherent and integrated dynamics of human society, it was

criticised for its lack of historical consideration, which precluded it from sufficiently explaining change in human society. More recent approaches such as political economy, practice theory and modes of production theory are all historical in nature. Interactional approaches, because of an emphasis upon human cognition which is less influenced by historical factors, is an exception to this general tendency. In summary, an overview of the shift in the treatment of history demonstrates that historical consideration has in recent years generally become essential in the analysis of social and cultural change. Human history, after all, is a chronological sequence of changes, which can be analyzed only in a historical context.

5. The specialization of research focus appears to be a tendency among the modern approaches. The nineteenth-century approaches commonly looked at change in the general pattern of human society. However, in recent anthropological inquiry, there has been a recognition of the diversity in all elements in human society and of the complexity involved in social and cultural change. As a result, the research scope has been narrowed and each approach only addresses certain elements in the given change situation. Some modern theoretical models, assuming an importance of certain aspects of human life, intensively examine, e.g. the economic dimension of human society, or cognitive aspects of human life or social relationships. Cultural ecology looks at techno-environment and the "cultural core", and cultural materialists sought a causal relationship between environment and social and cultural system. The various schools of Neo-Marxists, in varying degrees, concern themselves with economic activities in which mode of production and social relation of production are the focus of attention. Interactional approaches, on the other hand, are concerned with how human cognition is structured and how it functions.

6. The most noticeable element that came into consideration in the recent approaches is the aspect of human consciousness

in the process of change. The modes of production approach places emphasis on human choice as a decisive part of social relations, which, in this model, is dominant over forces of production. This view is shared by the endogenous development approach in that the people are not passive in the process of change, but active participants and decision makers. Practice theory, to some extent, makes the same point. However, practice theory is more concerned with the role of an individual within the system which is dominant over the people, rather than viewing individuals as having an active role in the formation of the system.

The above six points provide a brief summary of the features of theoretical models for the study of social and cultural change. In order to fully appreciate the development of theoretical models, it is necessary to consider that the nineteenth-century theorists dealt with hypothetical change phenomena, based on secondary sources. Modern anthropologists, on the other hand, are more often faced with real situations which demonstrate the complex nature of human society. It may be safe to say that acculturation theory marks the beginning of the problem-oriented approach, which inevitably required refinement, modification and innovation in response to the variety of given problems.

Examination of the development of theory in modern anthropology demonstrates the reasonable modification of models to meet the demands for more accurate analysis of human society which is better documented now than in the nineteenth century. Typological approaches in the earlier modern theories, such as acculturation theory, were a preliminary attempt to deal with the real situation through first hand observation. The complexity involved in the change situation led to a narrowing of the unit of analysis, which, in turn, enabled the researchers to conduct more manageable and focused examinations and analyses.

Functionalist and structuralist views of human society were useful in order to gain a better understanding of the complexity and the interrelation of numerous elements in a given society. However, an improvement in the later years was needed to consider the process of change more particularly why and how systems change, which was not sufficiently analyzed within the framework of equilibrium theory. Further work in the examination of the process of change made it necessary to look at the individual member of the society and also to deal with the society in historical context. In short, the theoretical models for the study of change have been modified and improved as demand for an examination of more complex living human situations increased.

C. Application to the research problem

A review of various theoretical models in anthropology suggests that there are two models best suited to an analysis of the STCW issue: 1) the endogenous development model and 2) the interactional approaches.

The theoretical model in which the STCW communities can be most effectively analyzed is the endogenous development model, which allows a good understanding of the ways in which the community people involved with STCW deal with the new situation created by the moratorium, as well as the situation that led to its imposition. Tsurumi (1989) emphasized that endogenous development assumes that social change occurs through humanized development (see below), rather than through economically and technologically driven development. She argues the need for an examination of endogenous development by demonstrating that people who live in close proximity to nature and have a heavy dependence on natural resources for their livelihood are continually creatively and actively engaged in reforming and improving their society. The basis for the ongoing development of their society is the traditional knowledge which necessarily considers protection of the environment while sustainably utilizing its resources. The endogenous development model is receptive to new knowledge, technology and institutions which are often introduced from outside. In this model, people in the community evaluate and reject the unacceptable elements of new knowledge, technology and institutions and incorporate the acceptable elements into the existing system.

The concept of community in the endogenous development model is composed of three aspects: 1) the locality where the settlers maintain their life, 2) the solidarity based on the common value, the common purpose of lives and the common way of life and 3) the social interaction through which the local people relate to each other as well as to the immigrants and the transients from outside (Tsurumi 1989). The community, in short, has elements of a shared territory, a unity enforced by the local tradition and, social integration.

Endogenous development often functions simultaneously with industrialization or modernization where developments are certainly directed by the national government or some international body outside of the local community. These two types of development are often in conflict. The locally initiated development effort is better analyzed in the framework of endogenous development, which, at the same time, helps to reveal a contradiction or complementarity in its relationship with industrialization or modernization developments. This distinction between local-level and external development processes is useful in order to explain the real change agents in the change process.

The endogenous development model is superior to other theoretical approaches in analyzing the situation in the STCW communities because the on-going effort to reconstruct the STCW community is initiated mainly at the local level. The development and implementation of coping strategies initiated since 1988 (or a few years before) demonstrates clearly that it is the people in the STCW community that took the initiatives to alleviate the situation, while they wait for the resumption of whaling. The STCW operators rejected the guidance given by the national government who offered compensation with the condition that they surrender their whaling licenses, and thus abandon their whaling operations. Instead, they have been relying heavily on their alliance with other operators who live in each of the four STCW communities. The local townships wherein the four communities are founded, have funded new projects so that some of the hardships created by the economic loss as a result of the moratorium will be alleviated (Japan 1989a).

It is also noteworthy that there appears to be a certain social mechanism in which the economic loss of the individual STCW operators and their communities as a whole is compensated by non-monetary gains such as community solidarity, social prestige and pride and dignity of an individual and a community[8] Though the cumulative economic losses have created financial difficulties for the affected individuals and the township, as one boat owner has indicated, giving up whaling has never been an option for them (Japan 1989a). The rationale for this determination is complex. One aspect of it is that local knowledge concerning whale resources in their coastal waters contradicts the IWC's decision. Their conviction that whales are there to be harvested and their observations concerning the size of the whale stock provides assurance of the eventual resumption of whaling and makes them reject the line of argument that the IWC's decision represents.

Another important aspect supporting their rationale is the complex of social ties which whaling has created through various social institutions such as gifting and recruitment of whaling crews (Akimichi et al. 1988;Iwasaki 1988). Thus, non-monetary social incentives function locally to further motivate the community people to lobby for the resumption of whaling notwithstanding current financial losses. This very point reconfirms the usefulness of the endogenous development model which focuses on the social and human-centred aspects of development, rather than an economic rationale as a driving force for change.

Among various interactional approaches, Goffman's analysis of information management (Goffman 1959, 1961, 1967, 1971) provides a suitable model for examining various levels of discussion and negotiation at the IWC, where the crucial decisions, affecting the STCW communities are made. The STCW issues are first discussed at the Working Group meetings where members of the government delegations and the technical experts take part in discussion. It is during the Working Group meeting that the most detailed discussion on various aspects of the issues take place. These are summarized as recommendations which are then passed on to the Technical Committee meeting. In the Technical Committee meeting, the Commissioners representing each member country hear the report of the Working Group and further discuss the issues related to STCW. The recommendations from the Technical Committee are then passed on to the plenary meeting, where the final decisions are made.

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[8] Befu (1980) argues that individual self interest is the basic motivating force of human behaviour and that Japanese society needs to be examined as having three culturally defined conceptual elements: 1) personhood, 2) interpersonal relationships and 3) the collectivity. (See Chapter 8.B.3)

Since 1988 when the JSTCW issues were first discussed based on the comprehensive social science research on the four STCW communities, the interactions in the IWC meeting have shown a consistent pattern in that the two opposing groups, namely the pro-whaling group and the anti-whaling group, continue to disagree. While the GOJ, representing the interests of the STCW communities, has consistently attempted to reach a compromise on this issue, the anti-whaling group has been unwilling to do so, making consensus impossible. The reason for such deadlock situation within the IWC are diverse. Firstly, the whaling issue involves aspects of cultural value confrontation concerning the use of whale resource. This confrontation is due to the two conflicting value systems: one, that permits the lethal use of whale resource and the other that only allows non-consumptive or non-lethal use of whale resource. Secondly, the whaling issues has been influenced by international and domestic politics of the countries involved. Furthermore, the procedural rules under which the IWC meetings are operated, dictates the patterns of interactions which allows a majority group to gain control over the outcome of the meetings.

In summary, application of the endogenous development model is ideal for analysis of the coping strategies and the changing situation within STCW communities. Ethnographic interviews and observations provide further elaboration of the dynamics of the change process. The detailed analysis of individual and group behaviours in the framework of the interactional approach is useful in order to understand the complexity involved in decision making processes at the IWC. An application of these theoretical models will therefore provide an effective framework to examine the STCW issue, thus making a contribution to the understanding of social and cultural change.

Chapter 5 Historical development of the Japanese small-type coastal whaling issues.

A. The Japanese small-type coastal whaling issues

The foundation of the Japanese whaling tradition was established toward the end of the seventeenth century when organized net-whaling operations were developed in the southern coastal communities (Maeda and Teraoka 1953;Fukumoto 1960;Shiba 1986;Kalland 1986;Akimichi et.al 1988;Kalland and Moeran 1992). Whaling played a significant social, cultural and economic role in the coastal communities in areas such as the northern part of Kyūshū, Shikoku Island and Wakayama prefecture during the net whaling period. In these areas net-whaling operations were characterized by their large community-based organizations for hunting and processing of whales. Furthermore, regional trade and financial networks were established to carry out efficient distribution of whale products inter- and intra-regionally. As the net-whaling operations developed, community-level involvement and dependence on local whaling increased significantly at favourable whaling localities.

The common expression which describes the historical importance of whaling is " *Kujira itto de shichiura uruou* (one landed whale enriches seven bays)"(Kumano Taijiura Hogei-shi Hensan Iinkai 1981). Since the net-whaling period whales have been an important source of human food in Japan. Such long established and important social, economic and dietary traditions inevitably involve integration with religious beliefs and ceremonial activities. The status of whales in the Japanese culture is unique, in that whales have been classified as fish, rather than being classified with land-based mammals. This belief of whales as fish allowed the people to kill them, despite the Buddhist taboo which prohibits the killing of any four-footed animals (Shiba 1986).

Over-exploitation of whale stocks in the coastal waters of

Japan by foreign pelagic whaling fleets caused a severe depletion of whale stocks in the coastal whaling grounds where the Japanese whalers had traditionally hunted whales using nets. Eventually, net whaling ended its long proud history due to this over-harvesting by offshore whalers. The tragedy of 110 villagers who died in their desperate attempt to hunt the forbidden female right whale with a calf, in 1878 is still vivid in the memory of the people in Taiji (Kumano Taijiura Hogei-shi Hensan Iinkai 1981).

With the introduction of Norwegian whaling technology in the late nineteenth century, Japanese whaling entered its modern phase, during which period extensive diffusion of new ideas and technology took place. This period also marked the emergence of three forms of modern whaling in Japan. LTCW, harvesting large whale species in the coastal whaling ground, was introduced to numerous coastal communities in the central and northern part of Japan. The whaling crews from the traditional whaling towns in the southern part of Japan moved permanently or seasonally to the newly opened whaling bases throughout the Japanese archipelago (Kalland 1989;Takahashi et al. 1989). Increasing appreciation of whale meat and other whale products in the local whaling communities, at the beginning of this century, gave rise to small-scale coastal whaling operations specializing in harvesting various small-whale species; this operation was later classified as STCW. Government regulations strictly separated the two forms of coastal operations, STCW and LTCW, according to whale species and permissible technology. The first expedition to the Antarctic by the Japanese whaling fleet was carried out in 1934 with participation of whaling crews from the traditional whaling communities throughout Japan. With a short interval during World War II, the Japanese pelagic whaling operations continued until the moratorium on commercial whaling was implemented following the 1987 whaling season. Most noticeably, pelagic whaling was intensified when the people in Japan suffered from severe food shortages immediately following the end of World War II, and the nation-wide demand for whale meat and other whale products provided desirable market conditions enabling the three forms of whaling operation to prosper. This was consistent with the long standing dependence on marine foods due to largely to environmental features. Nagasaki (1993) has demonstrated that this dependence continues by comparing fish and meat consumption patterns in Japan, Iceland, the USA, UK, Australia, France and Germany. A high fish and low meat consumption pattern is consistent in whaling countries (e.g. Iceland and Japan), while high meat and low fish consumption pattern is seen in non-whaling countries (where in the past whaling was not carried out to provide meat for human consumption).

Decline of whaling in Japan firstly affected LTCW and pelagic whaling operation during the 1970's and was due to the progressive reduction of an annual catch quota decided by the IWC in response to concerns expressed over severe depletion of certain whale stocks (Suisan-chō 1983a,b,c, 1984;Tatō 1985). These reductions of catch quotas resulted in the reduction in the number of both the pelagic and LTCW boats. However, STCW operations maintained their stable catch, fulfilling the annual quota until 1988 when the GOJ agreed to the IWC total ban on commercial whaling and ended all Japanese whaling operations managed by IWC. When the GOJ agreed to abide by the moratorium on commercial whaling, LTCW and pelagic whaling ceased and the operating companies or the whaling sections of fishing companies were disbanded at the end of the 1987 whaling season. STCW was also affected by this decision and lost its annual quota of minke whales, which was a substantial part of their harvest of small species of whale.

Unlike LTCW and pelagic whaling, STCW was developed by the local residents of coastal communities to meet certain specialized needs in these local communities. The social, cultural and economic importance of this form of whaling demonstrate the role of localized coastal whaling that is consistent with the traditional form of whaling in Japan (Akimichi et.al 1988;Braund et al. 1989;Takahashi et al. 1989; Kalland 1989). The moratorium on commercial whaling was received by the local people in STCW communities with serious resistance. STCW operators, despite their economic loss, refused to surrender their license and decided to work for a normalization of their operation.

Emphasizing the distinctiveness of STCW, which separates itself from the other two forms of whaling operations in Japan in terms of its operational scale, social and cultural significance, localized nature of the operation, and degree of commerciality, the GOJ first presented a report explaining these characteristics of JSTCW to the Aboriginal/Subsistence sub-committee of IWC at the 38th Annual meeting in 1986 (Japan 1986). The report pointed out the similarity of JSTCW with various types of Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling that are exempted from the moratorium. This report was received with an indifferent reaction at the meeting. In the following year, a second report (Japan 1987) and follow up discussion took place at the IWC meeting, resulting in little progress.

Prior to the IWC meeting in 1988, an international group of social scientists from six countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, Norway, The UK, The USA) conducted field research in the four STCW communities in Japan. The results of the research (Akimichi et al. 1988) were presented at the Aboriginal/subsistence whaling sub-committee at the 40th Annual Meeting of IWC in 1988. In the plenary session in the week following the Aboriginal/Subsistence sub-committee meeting, GOJ made a request for an emergency interim quota to temporarily alleviate the hardship of the people in the STCW communities. However, the request was denied by the Commission.

The anthropological analysis of STCW in Japan provided a justification for considering this type of whaling in a new Working Group, established to deal with the issue relating to various forms of small-type whaling (STW) operations. The first meeting of this new working group was held in 1989, when Japan presented three reports (Braund et al. 1989; Kalland 1989;Takahashi et al. 1989) and met with an over-whelming reaction against the proposal to exempt STCW from the moratorium on the basis that the commercial nature of distribution of the STCW products suffices to consider this form of whaling as commercial whaling which has been banned under the moratorium. In this 1989 discussion, the social and cultural importance of STCW in the local communities was questioned because of an unclear distinction between STCW and LTCW. Following the discussion on JSTCW, Norway briefly made an oral presentation on its STW which is based on minke whaling in the North Eastern Atlantic region.

Also in 1989, in a separate working group established earlier to discuss the socio-economic impact of the moratorium, the GOJ submitted three reports (Bestor 1989; Japan 1989a,b) which comprehensively reviewed the effect of the ban of commercial whaling in the whaling communities in Japan. Japan's request for an emergency quota was rejected for the second year. The rationale behind this decision was that the member countries were not prepared to violate the moratorium before 1990 when the whaling ban was to be reviewed and reconsidered.

The STCW working group met for the second year in 1990. At this time, the two working groups, namely, The Working Group to consider various types of STW and The Working Group on socio-economic implication of the zero-catch quota, were merged to form one working group to allow discussion on overlapping issues. Two full days of discussion took place, based on the five reports submitted by the GOJ (Braund et al. 1990;Japan 1990a,b,c,d) and one report submitted by Iceland. Japan provided a detailed answer (Japan 1990b) to the crucial question proposed the year before concerning the distinction between STCW and LTCW. In addition, the GOJ provided documents dealing with social and cultural importance of STCW in quantified terms (Braund et al. 1990), an operational plan for managing STCW operations (Japan 1990c), and counter-measures to alleviate the impact of the moratorium (Japan 1990a). This working group was attended by 87 participants, the highest level of participation of all the IWC working group meetings that year. Active participation in discussions generated a better understanding of Japanese STCW. The small-scale and localized nature of STCW operations was made explicitly clear. Among the several questions raised by the participants of the working group, one was directed to the social and cultural importance of whale products in everyday use. During the discussion, many participants took the position that the traditional distribution system of whale products in Japan, characterized by the dual system involving both cash and non-cash distribution, inevitably makes JSTCW just another form of commercial whaling. For this reason, at the conclusion of the meeting, the group could not come to any agreement to recognize the justification for establishing a new classificatory category for the JSTCW, distinct from the two categories in use at the time, namely Aboriginal/Subsistence and Commercial whaling. In the plenary session of the IWC in the week following, the GOJ requested a small number of minke whale as an emergency quota, and again, this request was denied.

The 1991 working group meeting was held with a substantially smaller group of participants. The GOJ continued to argue for recognition of the social and cultural importance of JSTCW, and presented four reports (Japan 1991a,b,c,d). Based on the documentation, Japan specifically answered why everyday use of whale meat in the whaling communities is socially and culturally significant. A comparatively short discussion took place on the issue of whale meat as human food (Japan 1991a,d). The group who share the view that the commercial elements of JSTCW makes it one form of commercial whaling and hence subject to the moratorium maintained their position. Despite this, some participants did recognize the social and cultural importance of STCW to the local people. In addition to Japan, Iceland and Norway each made a presentation concerning their STW operations. However, the working group did not reach a consensus to establish a separate category for STW.

In the plenary session of the meeting, the GOJ continued its effort to obtain an emergency quota for JSTCW. One hundred minke whales were requested as an emergency relief quota based on the scientific advice available that year which estimated the abundance of minke whales in the Japanese coastal whaling grounds to be in excess of 21,000 animals. However, despite the new evidence of a robust minke whale stock, the majority of the member countries voted against this request for the fourth time.

Again in 1992, the working group on STW met to continue its consideration of the various types of STW. That year, Norway introduced a comprehensive report on its minke whaling, describing social, cultural and economic nature of Norwegian minke whaling (Norway 1991). GOJ tabled five reports (Japan 1992a, b, c, d, e), one of which is a report (Japan 1992e) of an international symposium held earlier that year. This report summarizes the findings of the symposium in which various STW operations, more specifically minke whaling in Greenland, Iceland, Japan and Norway were compared. It extensively discusses the management of this type of whaling and concludes that STW in Iceland, Norway and Japan deserve serious consideration as a distinct category as it has much in common with minke whaling in Greenland, which has been recognized as Aboriginal/subsistence whaling and is permissible under an exemption from the moratorium. This report ended with a strong recommendation for the establishment of a distinct category of whaling for STW in Iceland, Japan and Norway. Only a few comments were made regarding the report, and the working group was not able to come to a consensus concerning the establishment of a new category for STW.

The discussion in the working group was reported in the plenary meeting. GOJ, again, requested an interim allocation of 50 minke whales for JSTCW. However, the request was rejected on the bases that some delegates were still not able to see a distinction between JSTCW and Japanese LTCW.

Discussion on JSTCW continued in 1993, when Japan tabled three reports (Japan 1993a,b,c). One of the reports was prepared in response to the comment raised in the previous year that some delegates could not see the difference between LTCW and STCW (Japan 1993a). The second report provided an annotated list of all documents concerning JSTCW and the impact of the zero-catch limit that the GOJ has made available at the Working Group since 1986 (Japan 1993b). The questions and the answers have become repetitive and some newcomers to the Working Group ignorantly make comments that have been answered in the previous meetings. In order to make positive progress, Japan tabled an action plan for Japanese Community-based Whaling (CBW) in which a definition of CBW, identification of the CBW, operational specifications, distribution and consumption of the catch and other operational details are presented (Japan 1993c). Although there was no agreement to adopt the action plan, the chairperson of the Working Group concluded that a majority of the participants felt that the proposal should be further considered.

Japan asked for an interim allocation of 50 minke whales for its STCW operation. The Commission voted against the request. However, it passed a resolution which recognizes the social and cultural importance of Japanese CBW and resolves to work expeditiously to alleviate the distress to the Japanese CBW communities (Appendix 2.).

In summary, the issues relating to the JSTCW, the last remaining form of the Japanese whaling cultural complex, have been discussed since 1986 at the IWC meetings. About thirty academic papers prepared by an international group of social scientists have argued that the JSTCW operations have indispensable significance serving various social and cultural functions in the local communities. A total of eight years has been spent on an examination of the STW case within the IWC, in which JSTCW has been the main issue. The discussion has come to reveal two diverse views on the question of commerciality. One view is that any involvement of commercial distribution necessarily makes JSTCW a form of commercial whaling, and that any other significant role that JSTCW plays in the local communities is of minor importance to the IWC. The other view is that the JSTCW, notwithstanding some degree of commerciality (which is itself traditional), nevertheless maintains the long standing traditional characteristics of coastal whaling in Japan and that these characteristics are significant in maintaining the social, cultural, economic and nutritional integrity of these whaling communities. The continuous discussion in the STW working group consequently focuses unproductively on this unresolved issue of commerciality involved in the distribution. A comparison of JSTCW with some forms of Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling which involve some degree of cash exchange and yet is permitted by the IWC, therefore becomes crucial in questioning the validity of the dichotomized Commercial and Aboriginal/subsistence whaling categorization that has been the ongoing basis for the IWC's decisions.

B. Small-type coastal whaling communities

Ayukawa-hama is one of the four STCW communities[9] located in the north-eastern part of Honshū island in Japan (see Map 1 on p.6). In order to understand the nature of the STCW operation and the whaling community of Ayukawa-hama, knowledge of the inter-regional relationship among the four STCW communities as well as the social, economic, geographic and climatic conditions of Ayukawa-hama is required. This section of the chapter is organized to provide this information, first by describing the significance of the inter-regional relationship between the communities where all of the operating STCW boats originate; Abashiri[10], Ayukawa-hama in

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[9] Kalland and Moeran (1992:18) define a whaling community as " a group of people directly or indirectly involved in whaling related activities (such as the catching, flensing, processing, an/or marketing of whales and whale products), and for whom whaling related activities are important elements in the establishment of their self-identity". In the case of the STCW fishery, the whaling communities are those sub-cultural group, within an administrative unit (Abashiri, Oshika, Wada and Taiji) which are identifiable within the concept of the Japanese whaling cultural complex.

[10] Abashiri (population 43,395 as of Sept.1993) is one of the largest fishing ports in Hokkaidō. Indeed, fisheries have been a key industry from the foundation of the city. STCW is small-scale and a minor fishery compared to the salmon fishery and crab fishery, which Abashiri is known for. However, STCW had provided stability to the local fishing economy, based on the stable production of whales restricted by the annual catch quota.

The Abashiri whaling community is not easy to identify as it is integrated into larger and more easily identified community units such as the neighbourhood association, and school district, etc.. Iwasaki (1988) identified the Abashiri whaling community through an examination of social relationship of the production group (the core whaling group) and certain other groups maintaining an extended relationship with it.

Oshika-chō[11], Wadaura[12], and Taiji[13], and second, by providing a description of Ayukawa-hama.

1) Inter-regional relationship among the four STCW communities.

During the pre-moratorium period, there were nine STCW boats (15-47 tons, with 3-8 crew members per boat) operated by eight boat owners, who reside in the four separate STCW communities memtioned above (See Akimichi et al. 1988 for details). All of the boats operated cooperatively during the whaling seasons, efficiently sharing the annual STCW quota granted by the IWC (in the case of minke whale) and by the domestic government (in the case of two or three other small whale species). The STCW operation specializes in harvesting minke whales, Baird's beaked whale and other small cetaceans.

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[11] The population of Oshika-chō is 6,700 as of September 1993. Ayukawa-hama is one of the sixteen *gyōsei-ku* (district) within oshika-chō. Further discription of Ayukawa-hama is provided in this chapter.

[12] Wada or Wadaura-chō (population 6,368 as of Sept.1993), located on the eastern tip of Bōsō peninsula in Chiba Prefecture, has a long tradition of coastal whaling with a spear, known as"Tsukitori hogei". In the modern whaling period, Wada became a base for both LTCW and STCW. Such historical importance of whaling inevitably developed a unique local whale-based cuisine; thus Tare (sun-dried Baird's beaked whale meat), is the local speciality, consumed exclusively in the southern part of the Bōsō peninsula.

[13] The history of successful net whaling in the sixteenth century makes Taiji (population 4,158 as of Sept.1993) distinct from the other STCW communities. In the modern whaling period, Taiji maintained its active involvement in coastal whaling in both LTCW and STCW. Taiji also supplied numbers of whalers for pelagic whaling fleets. The long tradition of whaling has become intricately imbedded in the social, cultural and economic bases of the local community. A distinctive local whale-based cuisine, the many symbolic and emblematic uses of whale images throughout the community and religious rites concerning whales and whaling as an important aspect of community identity is recognizable today.

The catch record of the last ten years before the implementation of the moratorium indicates the stable and small-scale nature of STCW (Appendix 4. Table 3).

Since national regulations (Chapter 5.C.1) assign certain ports for landing the catch, the STCW operation has been carried out in the whaling grounds closest to the designated landing ports and flensing stations (Appendix 5. Map 3 and Appendix 4. Table 4). Consistent with the national regulations on the whaling season decided by the GOJ, the STCW operators have collectively worked out the operational schedule for each whaling ground. For about two weeks in the summer, all the boats gathered in Kushiro for minke whaling offshore of Kushiro in the south-eastern part of Hokkaidō. The other time during the whaling season was spent operating individually or as a small group in the coastal whaling ground nearest to each STCW community.

STCW is a coastal operation as all whaling trips are carried out within 65 miles from the closest shore line. Ninety five percent of catches are within 40 miles of shore. The whaling boats ordinarily make one-day return trips, rarely spending more than part of one day on the ocean before returning to port (Japan 1990b).

Inter-regional relationships have been established mainly in three areas. First, the eight boat operators formed a national association, the Japan Small-type Whaling Association, through which they conduct such administrative matters as allocating a catch quota to each boat, implementing the regulations imposed by the GOJ and the IWC, and other general concerns which involve all nine boats. When the moratorium came into effect, it was the Japan Small-type Whaling Association that each boat owner relied upon heavily for the measures to alleviate the hardship caused by the loss of the minke whale catch quota. The STCW operators, through the Association, formed partnerships among themselves in order to reduce the number of boats in operation, thus rationalizing the operating cost to harvest the reduced number of whales of two species, which are allowed to be taken under national government control.

The relationship among the boat owners has been enriched through social interaction that the regular meetings of the Japan Small-type Whaling Association provided. Before the administrative issues became oppressive, the association meetings were held in resort areas. Social functions during their stay there provided an ideal opportunity to strengthen and promote intimate social ties among the association members. At the present time the STCW operators come together in Tokyo for their meetings several times a year, depending on the number of agenda items that need to be discussed in the given circumstances. Through interaction during the meetings as well as in social situations after the meetings, the operators had opportunities to develop deeper inter-personal relationships, which became the basis for a mutually-supportive alliance during this time of hardship. Sub-group relationships, each involving two or three boat owners, have emerged out of the interaction through the intensified association; these relationships presently serve management functions as well as social purposes. In short, an inter-regional relationship exists among the STW operators, whose most formal relationship is expressed in their interaction within the Japan Small-type Whaling Association.

The second level of inter-regional relationship has been developed among the crew members and their families. The annual operational schedule for each boat was set up so that all the STCW boats came together in the middle of summer at the Kushiro port, where they harvested minke whales on the nearest whaling ground. Some occasional joint effort in whaling operation among the boats, and crew interaction while the boats are anchored at Kushiro port promoted intimate ties among the whalers. An exchange of knowledge related to the highly specialized skills involved in preparation for operation, searching and hunting for whales and processing the catch was facilitated through this interaction. Sharing of meals, and drinks and other social activities formed the bases for closeness among them. Such social ties were maintained, and further extended to involve their families through gift-exchange during the non-whaling season. At *Seibo* (the end of the year gift-exchange), local food specialities were exchanged, followed by exchange of phone calls, expressing appreciation for the gift and the warm thought that the gift conveys.

The third area in which inter-regional relationship among the four STCW communities has been fostered is in the historical migration of whaling-related people from region to region or whaling community to whaling community. It is common in the STCW communities to find whalers who have moved from other whaling communities, or whose ancestors have moved from one. This type of inter-regional relationship extends not only over the four STW communities, but also to the other traditional whaling communities in Kyūshū, Shikoku and the southern part of Honshū. Since whaling requires some highly specialized skills, those with experience are highly regarded. As noted earlier, the whaling crews' migration, which resulted in diffusion of whaling technology, characterizes the Japanese whaling cultural complex. This phenomenon is evident among harpooners, flensers, processors and their spouses (Kalland 1989). An examination of these inter-regional relationships among the STCW communities demonstrate a cohesiveness among the four STCW communities. Understanding these cohesive inter-regional relationships among the STCW communities provides a proper context for an examination of the STCW issue.

2) Ayukawa-hama as a whaling community

The book, *Oshika-chō shi* (History of Oshika town)(Oshika-chō 1988) presents a full historical account of the development of the township which originated in the pre-Meiji period. The first jurisdictional reform was implemented in

April 1889 (Meiji 22) when several existing hamlets were merged into Ōhara-mura (Ōhara village) and Ayukawa-mura. Each village established its own village office which served as an administration centre for the local people. In 1955, Ōhara-mura and Ayukawa-mura were joined to form one jurisdiction, called Oshika-chō under the new town and village affiliation reform. At the present time, the jurisdictional boundary lies between Oshika-chō and the neighbouring towns of Onagawa in the west-north and Ishinomaki to the west of Oshika-chō. However, the jurisdictional boundaries do not correspond to the boundary of the Ayukawa whaling community, as the production phase of whaling had never been as widespread as any jurisdictionally defined areas. Rather, the historical importance of whaling had always been focused in the Ayukawa-hama area.

Oshika-chō shi reflects the historical significance of the "*hama*" unit, literally meaning "the shore area", as a cohesive community boundary. Oshika-chō is described as having eleven *hama* units in which economic, social and cultural interaction has been most intense. Such social and cultural interaction boundaries have been reinforced by the geographical conditions under which the eleven *hama* communities have each developed in earlier times.

The *Hama* unit is extremely important when examining the history of whaling, as the whaling operation was most heavily centred in Ayukawa-hama, making Ayukawa synonymous with whaling. "*Hogei no Ayukawa ka Ayukawa no hogei ka*", meaning "Ayukawa is known for its whaling or whaling is known for Ayukawa whaling" is the commonly heard expression by the local people recalling the height of whaling in Ayukawa-hama. Although there are other *hama* communities in Oshika-chō where whaling operations were attempted, whaling did not become a significant base of their community lives, as it did in Ayukawa-hama.

Ayukawa-hama has developed itself quite differently from the other ten *hamas*. The neighbouring Kugunari-hama, has shared the economic benefit of the whaling industry by providing labour for whaling boats and other whaling-related operations. However, its social and cultural development clearly demonstrates characteristics distinct from those of Ayukawa-hama.

Although it is reasonable to define Ayukawa-hama as a whaling community in both economic and socio-cultural terms, a sufficient understanding of distribution and consumption phases of Ayukawa-hama-based whaling requires an expansion of the analysis. The neighbouring *hama*s such as Kugunari-hama and the other nine *hama*s have necessarily been a part of the social and cultural sphere of the whaling community based in Ayukawa-hama. Kinship ties exist between the people in Ayukawa-hama and the people in other *hama* communities. It is also evident that the social network of the Ayukawa-hama whaling community extends into other regions through the gifting of whale meat and blubber and a common food culture based on whale consumption. Furthermore, the strongest political force influencing the state of the whaling operations since the Meiji era has been the village/town office and the local Fishery Cooperative Association[14]. These are the largest political organizations covering multiple *hama*s, one of which is Ayukawa-hama. Problems are therefore involved in providing a simple clear-cut definition of the STCW community, and these need to be taken into consideration. In modern days, communities do not constitute closed systems in which socio-cultural and economic activities are self generated and sustained within a defined geographical boundary. Any community is obviously an open system with concentrations of many of these activities occurring within the locality or physical environment where the people reside. In the case of STCW, Ayukawa-hama provides a sufficient unit of research in which production, distribution, consumption and celebratory activities are significantly concentrated.

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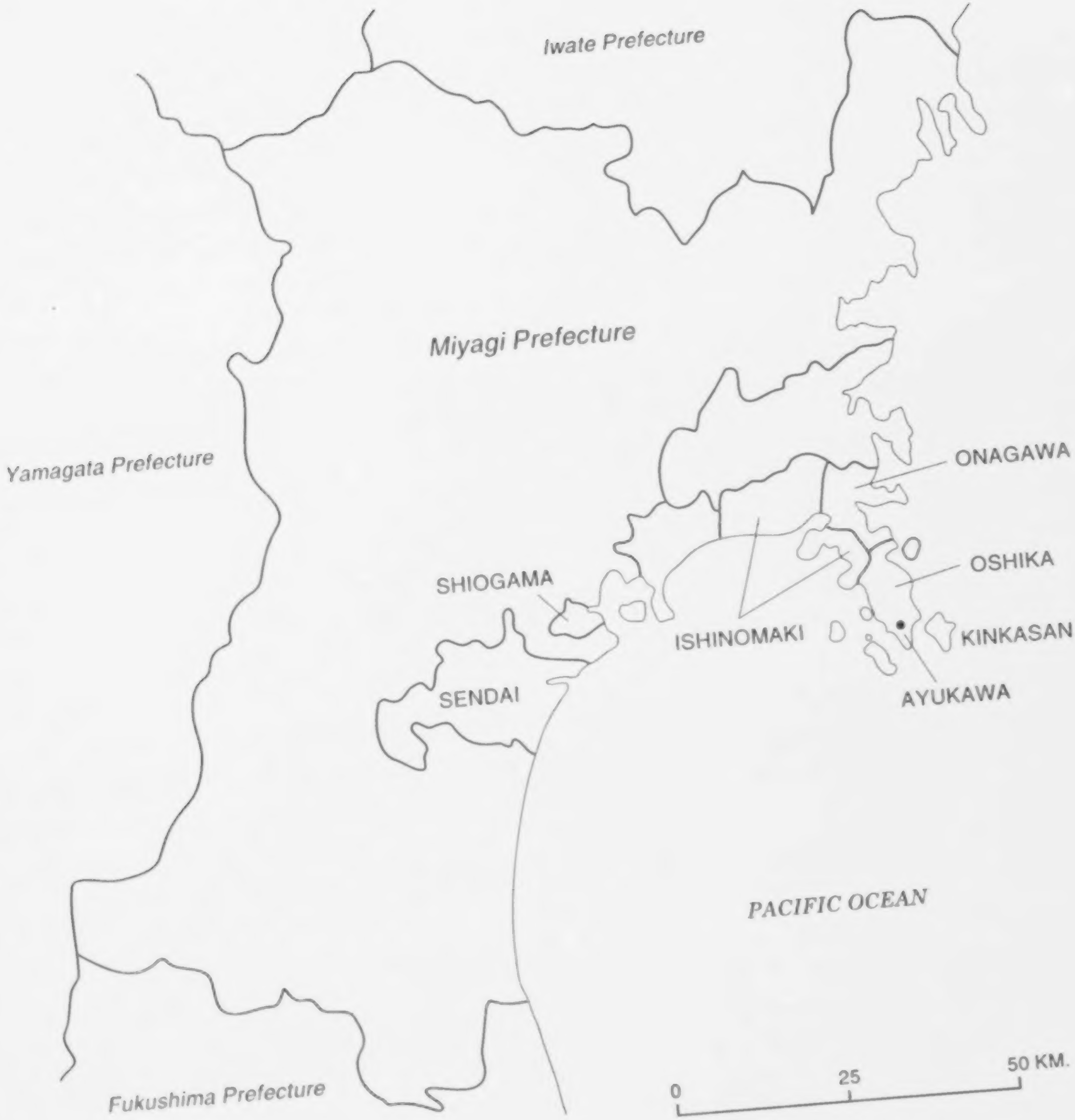
[14] The Japanese term, *Gyogyō kyōdō kumiai*, has been translated into English as the Fishery Cooperative Association, the Fisheries Cooperative Association, and the Fishermen's Cooperative Association. In this thesis, the translation presented in Dictionary of Fisheries (Seizandō 1986), the Fisheries Cooperative Association, will be used.

Ayukawa-hama is located in the south-eastern portion of Oshika (Ojika) peninsula, facing the Pacific Ocean (see Map 2 on p.73). Ayukawa-hama is surrounded by Aji-shima island and Kinkasan island, and adjacent to two communities, Niiyama-hama and Kugunari-hama. The people in Ayukawa-hama have settled mostly in the shore area along the Minato river, which runs through the central part of the present town. Several small settlements are found along the Kinkasan-kaidō (Kinkasan road) and at Kurosaki at the tip of the peninsula. It is believed that the name, Ayukawa, was given because of the Ayu fish (sweetfish) found in the Minato river.

The climate of Ayukawa-hama is mild throughout the year. The people enjoy mild winters and cool summer with the mean temperature of the last 37 years being 12.2°C. The average temperature of the coldest month in the year is 2.5°C in February. The seasonal wind is frequently strong in Ayukawa-hama, causing rough conditions on the ocean. The wind and the fog in June and July create climatic conditions which hinder the regular operation of a ferry which connects Ayukawa-hama with two nearby islands.

The distance between Ayukawa-hama and the closest city, Sendai, is about 85 km. The winding mountain road, which lies in between the two locales, slows down traffic significantly, so that the trip to Sendai from Ayukawa-hama by car often takes two hours to two and a half hours. Major public transportation between Sendai and Ayukawa-hama is by train and bus, by which means travelling time is doubled.

Map 2. Map of Ayukawa-hama


Iwate Prefecture
Miyagi Prefecture
Yamagata Prefecture
ONAGAWA
OSHIKA
SHIOGAMA
ISHINOMAKI
KINKASAN
SENDAI
AYUKAWA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Fukushima Prefecture
0
25
50 KM.

3) History of Ayukawa-hama

a. Pre-modern whaling period

According to *Oshika-chō shi*, the beginning of Ayukawa-hama is known from archaeological evidence which suggests that the earliest settlement in Ayukawa-hama area was established as early as the Jōmon period. Considering the extensive exploration associated with the Ayukawa gold mine around the 13th century, there might have been periodical human settlement in this region in the early historic period. However, no artifacts have been found to indicate the existence of such settlements in Ayukawa-hama.

The earliest proven evidence of settlers in this region is some twenty monuments dated around the 14th and 15th century. These are the *kuyō-hi* (memorial towers), which were built to repose the souls of the ancestors of certain families in the Kannon-ji temple and Yakushi-dō temple. The people who settled and built these *kuyō-hi* are not known, but religious practice carried out among the early settlers of Ayukawa-hama is clearly evident. An immigration of people into this region has been recorded in old archives which lists *samurai* warriors who migrated to Ayukawa-hama. Around 1644, the Sendai feudal domain recognized the need for guarding the coastal area along the Pacific Ocean from the invasion of foreign vessels. Ayukawa-hama was chosen as one of the five sites for building an observation tower for that purpose.

The Ayukawa-hama area later served as an important gate-way to Koganeyama Shrine on Kinkasan Island, which received numbers of pilgrims. However, significant expansion of the settlement did not happen until the late Meiji era when LTCW operations were established in Ayukawa-hama. A small hamlet of some 50 households of fishermen made historic progress as a result of the arrival of these whaling operations (Oshika-chō 1988). The population survey of 1888 indicates that there were 67 households in Ayukawa-hama, which was a similar size to the other *hama* communities in the Oshika peninsula. It was the establishment of these whaling bases in Meiji 39(1906) that generated the population growth as well as an economic growth of Ayukawa-hama. In Meiji 41 (1911), only five years after the whaling operation started, the population of Ayukawa-hama had tripled to 149 households. The pattern of population increase at this time is significant, in that a substantial portion of the population were immigrants from distant communities. This fact has had an important effect on the social and cultural development of Ayukawa-hama community (see Chapter 5.B.3 and Chapter 6.B.). A high percentage of people in Ayukawa-hama are descended from immigrants who have moved into the region between the late Meiji and the Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa era (1926-1989).

b. Modern whaling era in Ayukawa-hama

The rich whale resources offshore of Kinkasan had been known as early as the 19th century. Several attempts were made to catch large whales in the Kinkasan whaling ground, using various methods during the pre-Meiji period. In the Meiji era, small-scale whaling companies were established in the Ayukawa-hama area. Among them was Kinkasan gyogyō kabushiki-gaisha (Kinkasan Fishery Corporation) founded in Meiji 39 (1906). It used the American whaling method in which a fleet consisting of a 350-ton mother ship and several catcher boats engaged in whaling, using hand harpoons. The understanding of production and usage of whale products was intensively promoted by various people. Furthermore, a survey of the Kinkasan whaling ground was conducted by the government in order to evaluate the state of whale resources.

In Meiji 39 (1906), Tōyō gyogyō kabushiki-gaisha (Tōyō Fishery corporation) founded in Meiji 37 (1904), built their whaling base in Ayukawa-hama. According to the record of village council meetings in which the decision on a whaling operation of Tōyō Fishery corporation was made, the village council unanimously agreed to the proposal by the whaling company (Oshika-chō 1988:160). Although there were concerns among the fishermen who harvest small fish and seaweeds in the coastal water that flensing operation at the shore station might pollute the area, village leaders such as the mayor of Ayukawa-mura (Ayukawa village), the executives of the Ayukawa Fisheries Cooperative Association and the village councils made an extensive effort so that the importance of whaling for the development of Ayukawa-hama was understood by the local people. Izumi Tsunetarō, mayor of Ayukawa-mura at that time, was one of the first people who made a positive judgement and campaigned for opening a whaling station in Ayukawa-hama. His judgement was based on the conviction that whaling would provide an economically and ecologically sound foundation for developing the community. Furthermore, Tōyō gyogyō kabushiki-gaisha made a generous financial donation to the village. Such efforts were appreciated by the people who would be affected by the whaling operation. June 10, 1906 when the shore facilities were completed, marked the beginning of the whaling era in Ayukawa-hama.

The success of whaling operations by Tōyō Fishery Corporation, who had adopted the newly introduced Norwegian whaling methods, generated an interest by other major whaling companies. Within a few years, Tosa Hogei(Tosa whaling company), Kī suisan (Kī fishery), Fujimura Hogei (Fujimura whaling company) and Nagato Suisan (Nagato Fishery) built their whaling bases in Ayukawa-hama. The establishment of these several whaling bases led to the opening of whaling-related industries, such as whale-products processing, craft-making, transportation, and others in Oshika and the surrounding area. Naturally, the economy of the town prospered, with financial benefits from the ample whaling activities. More importantly, there was a massive migration of people who consequently served as agents for the diffusion of whaling culture. Technology, social dynamics, religious observances and the other social and cultural practices concerning whaling were introduced to Oshika. Oshika township, thus, began its development as a whaling town whose economic, social and cultural practices were based to a large extent on its coastal whaling operations.

One of the most important whaling-related industries which took a firm root in Ayukawa-hama was fertilizer production. Izumi Tsunetarō pursued a plan to develop the community by initiating a stable supply of necessary fertilizer to the local and neighbouring communities. This also provided a solution to the problem of water pollution in Ayukawa coastal waters. Some fertilizer factories were built in Kugunari-hama. By 1919, there was a total of 28 fertilizer producers in operation in Ayukawa-hama and Kugunari-hama. Ayukawa-hama gradually created an economic foundation, based almost solely upon whaling and whaling-related businesses.

In 1925 (Taishō 14), Ayukawa Hogei Kabushiki Kaisha (Ayukawa whaling corporation) was established by a local entrepreneur in Ayukawa-hama, Izumi Tsunetarō. Izumi's main interest was to establish a reliable source of sperm whale products to meet local fertilizer processors and oil processors demands.

Whaling companies who operated out from Ayukawa-hama paid a special prefectural tax and a surtax during the Taishō and Shōwa era until Shōwa 25 (1950). Revenues from whaling companies enriched the financial capability of the municipalities which resulted in reduction of municipal tax and improvement of public facilities.

While Ayukawa-hama was prospering with a vitalized economy generated by whaling operations and other whaling-related businesses, there were some who were concerned about an over-dependence on whaling enterprises mostly operated by non-local investors. Mayor Ōmori Takejirō who later became the president of Ayukawa Fisheries Cooperative Association, was one of them. He felt a strong urge to initiate a plan to establish an economic foundation which would allow Ayukawa-hama to be more self-sufficient and less dependent on the non-local investors who operated LTCW. He set out to implement the plan of constructing a fishing harbour jointly by Ayukawa-hama and Kugunari-hama. In Shōwa 3 and 4 (1928 and 1929), the worldwide recession threatened the remote village of Ayukawa. Whaling operations were suffering from devastatingly low whale catches and a global over-supply of whale oil causing over-seas exports to cease. Whaling bases were closed, leaving 200 people unemployed. To alleviate the hardship of the unemployed former whalers, the Ayukawa Fisheries Cooperative Association initiated the construction of waterworks and a breakwater as a part of a larger plan to construct the fishing port in Ayukawa-hama. The national government, the prefectural government and the municipal government all contributed their share of funding for this project. In 1931, the initial stage of construction was completed. Improvement of the Ayukawa harbour has been carried out in successive stages, following the initial completion and continued until the present day.

In Shōwa 11 (1936), Ayukawa village council passed a proposal to negotiate with the national government for the construction of a railway connecting Ishinomaki and Ayukawa. This plan would have enabled Ayukawa-mura to efficiently transport the fishery products landed at Ayukawa port to distant markets and provided a convenient means of transportation for visitors to Kinkasan. However, the plan for the Ishinomaki-Ayukawa railway did not receive approval by the neighbouring communities. Furthermore, Onagawa in the north of Ayukawa-mura was proposing a construction of the Ishinomaki-Onagawa railway line. In Shōwa 14 (1939), the opening of the Ishinomaki-Onagawa railway line left Ayukawa-mura with little hope of seeing their plan implemented. Despite efforts to expand the economic base of Ayukawa-mura, the dependency on whaling became even stronger because of this particular failure.

During World War II and in the post-war period, the importance of whaling became greater as the whaling industry in Ayukawa-mura played an indispensable role as a food supplier. It was around this time that STCW operations expanded to take on the important task as a supplier of whale meat. While LTCW ceased its operation during World War II, STCW continued to produce an important source of protein for the local people.

In the immediate post-war period, known as the period of food shortage, the USA occupation army encouraged an expansion of whaling operations to the Antarctic and the North Pacific to provide food for the Japanese nation. A number of skilled whalers from Ayukawa-hama participated in this important operation, thus Ayukawa-hama became involved in all three forms of Japanese modern whaling.

The concern about the over-dependence on the whaling industry and the resulting vulnerability continued to be an issue for the people in Ayukawa-hama. About 80% of the work force in Ayukawa-hama, at that time, was engaged in whaling-related jobs. Moreover, non-fish food supply was mostly brought in to Ayukawa-hama from the Ishinomaki area. Making Ayukawa-mura more self-sufficient by introducing a locally-established food supplier became a key concern for the municipality. Around 1947, a plan to operate Kurosaki experimental farm in Ayukawa-mura was proposed as a partial solution to the problem. Mayor Izumi and other town council members, in co-operation with Kaitaku Nōgyō Kyōdō Kumiai (Pioneer agricultural cooperatives) implemented the plan, and Kurosaki Agricultural Cooperatives was formed, Nineteen people became members and moved onto the farm. Kurosaki experimental farm produced fresh vegetables, which were made available to the local people.

In 1952, one of the whaling companies, Nihon suisan, moved its base to Onagawa. Shifting an emphasis from coastal whaling to pelagic whaling, Nihon suisan no longer had to depend on the whaling ground near Kinkasan, to which Ayukawa-hama provided the best access. Moreover, with the Ishinomaki-Onagawa railway line, Onagawa was better situated in terms of transportation of whale products. In the same year, the experimental cultivation of Nori seaweed started in Ayukawa-hama. In a few years, 36 fishermen in both Ayukawa-hama and Kugunari-hama took up Nori seaweed cultivation.

Until 1953 when the first *Kujira Matsuri* (whale festival) was held, various religious rites concerning whales and whaling had usualy been conducted only among those directly involved in whaling activities and their family members. However, in 1953, a community-wide ceremony was held to celebrate the town's prosperity and to repose the souls of whales as well as the souls of those who died at sea. This is a significant event, in that it marks the beginning of the new era when whales and whaling became a collective symbol for the people in Ayukawa-hama. *Kujira Matsuri* was organized by the local fire fighters' groups, with the assistance of the women's group and the youth group. Various community-wide events such as baseball games and water sports were held. One of the attractions was the whaling demonstration in which the local people had a unique experience of shooting harpoons targeted upon model whales placed in the harbour. *Kujira Matsuri* was also celebrated the following year. However, because of the damage created by a major tidal wave, the following year's *Kujira Matsuri* was cancelled. It was revitalized a few years later by the Ayukawa shōtenkai (Ayukawa stores and shops organization).

In 1955, Ayukawa-mura and Ōhara-mura were joined to form one municipality, named Oshika-chō. The administrative center of Oshika-chō was situated in Ayukawa-hama. The first mayor was Suzuki Ryōkichi from Ayukawa-hama. He served for two terms (1947-55) as the mayor of Ayukawa-hama and for three terms (1955-65) as the mayor of Oshika-chō. He realized the benefit to be gained by joining Ayukawa-mura and Ōhara-mura as one municipality, and worked intensively to overcome difficulties in order to unite these *mura* communities. He was also involved in whaling as a STCW operator himself, and worked to improve the infrastructure for the development of the local coastal whaling.

In 1971, a toll road named *Kobaruto* line was opened, connecting Onagawa, Ōhara, Ayukawa-hama and Yamadori. Improvement of infrastructure had been a main theme for the newly established township, and needless to say, the opening of the *Kobaruto* line provided a needed foundation for the further improvement of the infrastructure, which eventually made it possible to develop tourism in the Ayukawa-hama area.

c. Development of STCW in Ayukawa-hama

STCW boats are known as "*minku sen*" (minke boat), for their target whale species (minke whales), which the LTCW boats based in Ayukawa did not harvest. The origin of STCW is quite distinct from LTCW, which was operated by the non-local investors. The first person to attempt minke whaling operations was Hasegawa Kumazō who was originally from Taiji and moved to Ayukawa-hama. Hasegawa who had earlier experienced LTCW as a boat captain, brought the small boat named No.1 Yūkō-maru from Taiji. Equipped with a 20 mm five-barrelled-gun which was originally invented for pilot whaling in Taiji, and a 26 mm harpoon cannon which was imported from Norway, this first STCW boat started its test operation in the coastal waters of Ayukawa-hama in Shōwa 8 (1933).

The catch of the first whaling season was some 10 minke whales, which did not have much commercial value because minke whale meat and blubber was less appreciated than that of other larger whales at that time. 1933 thus marked the beginning of locally originated small-scale whaling. In the following year, No. 1 Yūkō-maru was sold to a local entrepreneur in Ayukawa-hama and No. 2 Yūkō-maru, a new boat designed exclusively for minke whaling was launched.

No.2 Yūkō-maru continued to harvest minke whales for several years, until World War II broke out in 1941. While LTCW boats were sent to different theatres of war, STCW boats began to play a greater role as food suppliers to the local people. In Ayukawa-hama, there were three STCW boats which were in operation around this time. In 1944 when the war was intensified, the government introduced emergency measures to permit STCW to harvest sperm whales, in order to increase food production. STCW, under this special permission, had to operate under Gyogyō tōsei gaisha (Fishery controlled company), which was established under government control. In addition to the original three STCW boats, there were more boats brought into operation, totalling 13 nationally. At that time, approximately one third of the STCW boats were based in Ayukawa-hama (Oshika-chō 1988). The prominent STCW operator who began his operation during this period and maintained his operation to the present is Toba Yōjirō. He moved to Ayukawa-hama from Iwate prefecture in order to join a LTCW crew and later shifted to STCW, working as a harpooner and a boat owner.

During World War II, STCW bases and whaling grounds expanded to Onagawa, Hosoura (Iwate prefecture) and Taiji (Wakayama prefecture). After World War II ended, severe food shortages struck the people of Japan, and the need for efficient production of human food became urgent. While LTCW boats were sent in for repairs of the damage caused by their participation in the war effort, STCW boats continued and expanded their operations until the number of STCW boats increased to approximately 70 nationally. There were five STCW boats based in Ayukawa-hama; they harvested minke whales from Febuary to June and sperm whales and pilot whales for the rest of the season.

In 1947, the government of Japan introduced a licensing system in an attempt to regulate STCW for both the sound development of the industry and for resource conservation purposes. A Ministerial ordinance restricted the tonnage of boats to under 30 tons, restricted the target species as well as introducing the requirement for an annual renewal of the ministerial license. STCW boats were no longer allowed to harvest sperm whales under the newly-introduced restriction.

In addition to such restrictions, the STCW operation became threatened by the LTCW operation which began to resume their operations with improved equipment.

Under such unfavourable conditions, STCW boats attempted Baird's beaked whale hunting: Toba, having rich experience as a skilled harpooner, attempted catching Baird's beaked whales for the first time. His success led other local STCW boats to extend their effort to harvest Baird's beaked whales, which provided a secure economic base for the STCW operation. In 1952, there were 10 STCW boats based in Ayukawa-hama. By improving the engines and other equipment, STCW operators substantially improved their performance. The number of STCW boats in Ayukawa-hama reached 13 around 1957.

However, the return of LTCW operations several years earlier had affected the whale products market, resulting in a drastic decline in the price of whale oil and meat. Government guidance, to convert the STCW tonnage to LTCW operations, decreased the number of STCW boats significantly, so that there were only three STCW boats left in Ayukawa.

Throughout the several years of economic hardship, the STCW operators sought improved technology. Around 1971, the use of motor boats for turning the minke whales toward the slower-moving minke boat was tested. The result was an outstanding success, which remarkably improved the efficiency of minke whaling. Such technological improvement and favourable market conditions for minke whale products resulted in improved economic conditions for the STCW operations.

d. Decline of the whaling industry

According to the records (Anon. undated) indicating the number of whales landed in Ayukawa-hama since 1924, and allowing for natural fluctuations, the whaling industry in Ayukawa-hama had a fairly stable production. The local people recall the stability of whaling since its establishment in Ayukawa-hama. However, events were to change abruptly:

Oshika-chō shi highlights 1972 as the turning point of the Ayukawa-based whaling.

> In June of 1972, 1200 people representing 114 countries met in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden for the UN Human Environment Conference. At this meeting, the resolution was passed to ban the commercial whaling for ten years. This resolution eventually led Ayukawa-hama to its death (1988:188).

The decline of Ayukawa-based whaling became evident when the annual IWC quota utilized by the LTCW operations began to decrease. The concern about the eventual ban on commercial whaling led to a series of actions to protest the direction the IWC was taking. The leaders of Oshika-chō, led by the mayor, Watanabe Satoshi, periodically went to Tokyo to present their view to the Government officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Watanabe Satoshi served as the mayor of Oshika-chō for four terms from 1970 to 1986 when the deline of the whaling industry gradually affected the community. He was also a whaler himself, operating a STCW boat. He was a leading figure in organizing a series of events to apeal to the public and the national government that the moratorium is not an acceptable measure to manage the local whale resource and that it will threaten the livelihoods of many people and will consequently threaten the survival of the town.

In 1982, the IWC passed the decision on the moratorium on all commercial whaling. *Oshika-chō shi* states:

> When the United States Senate committee on foreign affairs passed the decision to support the moratorium in March, 1977, the new whale museum after being renovated was opened. Two years later in 1979, Kinkasan was designated as Minami-sanriku Kinkasan National park. [The IWC's decision was made after] the township had chosen the option of rebuilding the community for the 21 st century based on tourism and coastal whaling (1988:189).

Data from 1985 shows that about half of the total labour force of about 1,596 in Oshika-chō are engaged in fisheries. This number is further increased when people employed in fishery-related occupations are added (Appendix 4. Table 5) Among about 30 types of fisheries based in Oshika-chō, whaling has been the most stable and prominent industry since the town was founded in 1906, with considerably more than half of the gross fishery sales at Oshika-chō Whalesale Market in recent years generated from STCW operations (Appendix 4. Table 6).

Both LTCW and STCW continued their operation until the end of the 1987 whaling season after the GOJ had negotiated that date in order to allow time to phase out LTCW operations and to reduce STCW operations in an orderly fashion. LTCW operated by the Tokyo-based companies ended their whaling operation at the end of the 1987 whaling season, at which time government compensation was given to cover the economic losses created by the closure of their whaling operations. However, STCW which has been operated by local entrepreneurs decided to wait for the normalization of their operations and to refuse to surrender their STCW licenses, issued annually by the government. The consequence of this decision was that the STCW operators did not receive any government compensation for the loss of minke whaling, which composed the most substantial part of their operation. The mayor who succeeded Watanabe Satoshi in 1987 was Azumi Shigehiko who faced a difficult task of reconstruction of the community's very foundation after the moratorium of commercial whaling severely affected the social, cultural and economic infrastructure of the town.

The reduction of the population in Oshika-chō began around 1965 and continues in the present (Oshika-chō 1988). The population of Oshika-chō was 6,773 in 1990, showing a decrease of 6,980 from the census taken in 1955. The population of Ayukawa-hama has decreased by 46% during this period.

Since the 1988 whaling season, the STCW operators, having abided by the IWC's decision, stopped their minke whale harvest and rationalized their whaling operations by forming partnerships in order to reduce the number of boats in operation and the size of the workforce. Without minke whaling, the nationally regulated Baird's beaked whale hunt and the pilot whale hunt became the basis of their operations.

In the fall of 1990, Oshika-chō had completed construction of their new museum, Whale Land. This was an attempt to help promote tourism, which the township hoped would compensate for the loss of whaling. Oshika township officials are fully aware that the new museum will not in itself be enough to cause any increase of the number of tourists visiting the township. However, it is expecting that the new museum will provide enough interest to the visitors to Kinkasan shrine so that they will spend more hours in Oshika-chō, thus benefitting the restaurants, stores and hotels in Ayukawa-hama.

An active effort to resume local minke whaling has been made in various ways. The community has been promoting an understanding of it's need for normalized whaling by sending a delegation to the IWC to provide necessary information since 1989. Toba Yōjirō, the present president of the Japan Small-type Whaling Association and Mayor Azumi, along with other local STCW operators, have been attending the IWC Annual meetings since 1989 where they have been expressing the social, cultural and economic needs for normalization of the STCW operations.

The local people are active in producing documents for that purpose in cooperation with an international group of social scientists. A number of research reports on the Ayukawa-based whaling have been produced and presented at the IWC meetings in the hope that an informed decision regarding the normalization of community-based small-type whaling could be made (Japan 1993b).

C. Regulation of STCW

1) Domestic regulation

Minke whales, Baird's beaked whales, pilot whales and killer whales had been harvested in various parts of Japan for many years before government regulations were introduced to manage this type of whaling operation in 1947. About twenty boats were in operation, harvesting these small whale species prior to World War II. An increasing demand for whale meat during the food shortage period during and after World War II caused "the whaling boom", resulting in a drastic increase of STCW boats. In 1947, government regulations to manage STCW operations were implemented, and STCW operations became "designated fisheries", requiring licences from the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Tatō 1985;Japan 1986). Those applicants who were already STCW operators and whose preparatory work for STCW operations was completed, received a license from the Government. The licensing system effectively controlled the number of newcomers, and thus helped avoid over-competition among the STCW boats. The number of STCW boats was highest in 1952, numbering seventy-five nation-wide. The regulations limited the boat tonnage to less than 30 tons, along with the other operational regulations.

In 1956, measures were taken by the GOJ to reduce the number of STCW boats in order to assist the rational development of STCW operations. After consultation with the STCW operators, the GOJ decided on a drastic reduction of the number of operating boats by encouraging them to switch to LTCW operations. Conversion of STCW tonnage to LTCW tonnage effectively further eased the competition among the STCW operators. In 1964, the size of STCW boats was increased to a maximum of 47.99 tons. In 1966, there were 11 boats which were under 30 tons and 6 boats under 40 tons; a total of 17 were in operation. In 1968, to further minimize the STCW operation, the total tonnage of all STCW boats was limited to 200 tons, and 6 STCW boats were encouraged to change to LTCW operation. As a result, 10 STCW boats have continued to operate, although not all boats have been in full operation in any year. In 1988 when minke whaling was banned, a total of nine STCW boats were in operation.

STCW operations have been strictly regulated by the GOJ under Fisheries Law, Ministerial ordinance, Government ordinance and other regulations issued on the basis of scientific considerations (Suisan-chō 1983; Personal communication, Yamamoto 1993). These regulations include for example: the target whale species, the number and size of eligible vessels, the size of harpoon gun, the whaling season, permitting of flensing stations, the requirement for the use of landing ports, the requirement for the maximum utilization of the whale carcasses, and the prohibition on catch of certain female whales. In addition, government-appointed inspectors are assigned to each flensing station.

Under government supervision, STCW has demonstrated a stability of operation in the recent decades. Since the late 60s, the 8-10 STCW boats have consistently filled the annual quota of minke whales and other small whale species that the IWC and the GOJ had granted them every year. In 1988, the first year of the moratorium, there were nine STCW boats owned by eight boat operators. Presently, the same number of boats owned by the same number of operators await the normalization of their operation.

2) International regulation

Another important agency responsible for management of part of the STCW operations is the IWC. Harvest of minke whales, which form a substantial part of the STCW operation, is, in addition to the domestic regulation, restricted by the IWC annual catch limit and other operational matters such as method of harvesting whales, processing and import/export of whale meat and other products.

In 1976, at the 28th Annual Meeting of the IWC, a total catch of 542 minke whales from the Northwest Pacific stock for the 1977 whaling season was set based on the stable past catch record of the JSTCW. This was the first attempt for IWC to set a harvest quota for the JSTCW. In the following year, the allowable catch was reduced to 400 for the Japanese coastal minke whaling. The same size quota for minke whales in the coastal waters of Japan was decided at the 30th IWC meeting in 1978. In 1979, the IWC decided on a five-year-block quota with an annual limit of 421 for the years 1980 to 1984 inclusive. At the 36th Annual meeting in 1984, the quota was reduced to 320 for the year 1985. Following this, the quota became zero with the implementation of the Commission's decision on the moratorium.

The IWC's decision to impose a moratorium on all commercial whaling was passed in 1982, to become effective following the 1985 whaling season. The GOJ lodged an objection to the decision, but withdrew it in 1987[15]. The objection, until it was withdrawn, meant that the moratorium did not apply to Japanese whaling operations. JSTCW, being considered as one form of commercial whaling by the IWC, therefore became subject to the moratorium at the start of the 1988 whaling season, so there has been a zero catch of minke whales in Japanese coastal waters since the end of the 1987 season.

a. Early attempts to regulate whaling

The concern for possible whale resource depletion was first raised as early as 1910 and 1913 in Europe[16]. The morality of whaling operations was also first debated around this time[17] (Tatō 1985). A series of negotiations to establish a world-wide mechanism of regulating whaling took place among the whaling countries (the UK, Germany, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands) and other non-whaling countries starting in the mid 1920s. However, strong objection from the whaling countries delayed the formation of an international agreement. Meanwhile, Norway took domestic measures to regulate their annual harvest of whales in 1929. In Iceland, a series of attempts to restrict whaling activities were made in the later nineteenth century, and in 1913, a ban on all whaling to run for 10 years from October 1, 1915 was imposed in order to preserve the whale stock (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982)

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[15] The Government of Japan withdrew its objections with effect from 1 May 1987 with respect to commercial pelagic whaling; from 1 October 1987 with respect to commercial coastal whaling for minke and Bryde's whales; and from 1 April 1988 with respect to commercial coastal sperm whaling.

In 1931, the first international agreement on whaling regulation was signed by 26 countries in Geneva. The so-called "Geneva Convention" provided for the protection of right whales and female whales with calves, as well as a requirement for total utilization of the whale carcass, a requirement for whaling boat registration, and the requirement for collection of certain biological data from each whale taken. The effectiveness of this convention was extremely limited, because three whaling countries, namely Japan, Germany and the USSR[18] did not sign it. Furthermore, it took another five years to implement the convention because of the delayed ratification by the U.K. However, the "Geneva Convention" was significant in the sense that the importance of international cooperation for regulating whaling was recognized for the first time (Tatō 1985:23;Allen 1980).

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[16] At the International Zoological Conference held in Australia in 1910, a Swiss scholar pointed out a possible depletion of whale stocks. The International Nature Preservation Committee meetings were held in Berlin in 1913 and 1923. The Committee also raised an issue concerning the use of whaling factory ships that may cause a serious depletion of the whale stock.

[17] Some biologists and natural scientists initiated an anti-whaling movement in France on the moral basis that whaling activities were uncivilized.

[18] Although the USSR membership in IWC was replaced in 1992 by that of the Russian Federation, the USSR is used throughout this thesis as the data analyzed are from 1991.

In 1937, most of the whaling countries came together in London, where the effective regulation of whaling was further discussed. As a result, the First International Whaling Convention was agreed upon, providing full protection for right whales and gray whales, a provision on whaling seasons and whaling grounds, requirements for a salary system for the crews, and the requirement for total utilization of whale carcasses. This convention, which was agreed on a one-year basis, was renewed for 1938 at which time was added a one-year prohibition on humpback whale catching in antarctic waters.

An extensive effort was made, following the establishment of the International Whaling Convention, to maximize its effectiveness. The five whaling countries, namely the UK, Norway, Germany, the USA and Japan met in London in 1939 to discuss the issues relating to antarctic whaling operations. The group agreed on details of the antarctic whaling operation, as well as another one-year extension of protection of humpback whales in antarctic waters. Further revision was made when the antarctic whaling operations resumed, after a period of decline during World War II. In 1946, the present International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling was agreed upon.

b. The International Whaling Commission

In order to implement the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, the International Whaling Commission was established in 1948. Its objectives are expressed in the preamble of the Convention:

> The interest of nations of the world in safeguarding for future generations the great natural resources represented by the whale stocks. ....and to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks, and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry.

The original members of the IWC are 17 countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, South Africa, the USSR, the UK, and the USA. The task that IWC assumed was the setting of an annual quota for the Antarctic catch by using the "blue whale unit". Setting a fixed total quota for the given whaling season generated a high level of competition among the whaling fleets. This period is therefore often described as the years of the "whaling olympics", which accelerated the depletion of whale stocks in antarctic waters.

The IWC has experienced various changes over the years. The most significant changes are evident in its management policy and the composition of its membership. Hoel(1990) presents his analysis of observable shifts in the IWC management policy. He points out that 1965, 1972, 1974 and 1982 are significant years when major policy changes occurred.

> In 1965 the 'sustainable yield' principle was adopted, in 1972 the blue whale unit was abolished, in 1974 a new management procedure (NMP) was introduced, in 1982 zero quotas ('moratorium') were set for all commercial whaling from the 1985/86 pelagic and 1986 coastal season. (1990:8)

Hoel concludes that the IWC management policy shifted from "extreme exploitation to extreme conservation"(ibid.:8). The turning point in the policy shift toward "extreme conservation" coincides with a drastic increase in membership. A review of the IWC annual chairman's reports from 1979 to 1982 indicates that membership more than doubled in that period. Hoel questions the legitimacy of some of the new memberships.

> Many of these nations would probably never have joined the IWC by their own will, but were recruited to the Commission by anti-whaling interests in order to sway the composition of the Commission to allow for a three-fourths majority needed for a moratorium. (1990:12)

Freeman also makes an observation that the membership of IWC had been constant until 1973 and that it doubled in size by 1981 and continued to increase until 1985 (Freeman 1990). As of 1993, there are 40 countries registered as members of the IWC[19].

The large numbers of non-governmental organizations constitute a significant presence at the IWC meetings. The acquisition of credentials for observer status requires that an international organization have offices in more than three countries. There are about 60-70 NGOs[20] represented at the annual meeting every year. The NGO observers are allowed to attend, but not actively participate in the working group meetings, sub-committee meetings, the technical committee meetings and the plenary session.

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[19] There were thirty countries represented at the 43rd IWC Annual Meeting (1991): Australia, Brazil, Chile, People's Republic of China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, India, Ireland, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Monaco, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Peru, St.Lucia, St.Vincent and The Grenadines, Seychelles, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The USSR, The UK, The USA.

[20] The number of NGO observers varies slightly every year, averaging 60-70. Each group is represented by one or two persons. However, some large organizations often send more people under names of their sub-organizations. The following list includes the names of NGOs who were present at the 43rd IWC meeting in 1991.
A&M Records Inc., American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums, American Cetacean Society, American Friends Service Committee, Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition, Appel pour les Baleines, Arnold A. Finn PE Inc., Beauty Without Cruelty, Campaign Whale, Care for the Wild, Center for Marine Conservation, Centre for International Environmental Law, Cetacean Society International, Earth Island Institute, Earthtrust, Environmental Investigation Agency, European Environmental Bureau, Fauna and Flora Preservation Society, Friends of Earth International, Friends of Whalers, Greenpeace International, Indigenous World Association, Institute for European Environmental Policy, Institute for the Study of Animal Problems, International Association for Aquatic Animal Medicine, International Association for Religious Freedom,

Although NGO participation is theoretically limited to observation of meetings, they are nevertheless active participants in a technical sense. The presence of NGOs provides a monitoring mechanism through which the performance of each government representative is evaluated and, through lobbying, influenced in some cases. It is not unknown for a member government to change its official position during the meeting, upon receiving instruction from their home government as a result of such NGO monitoring activities. Presence of representatives of NGOs as members of some government delegations, needless to say, allows NGO observers to more strongly influence the performance of the government representatives during the meeting.

NGO observers are active in promoting information flow during the IWC meetings. Their activities are carried out mainly in three areas:1) some NGO observers serve as both

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International Coalition of Fisheries Associations, International Commission of Jurists, International Environmental Advisors, International Fund for Animal Welfare, International Institute for Environment and Development, International League for the Protection of Cetaceans, International Marine Animal Trainers Association, International Marine Mammal Association Inc., International Ocean Institute, International Transport Workers Federation, International Wildlife Coalition Trust, Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Inuit Circumpolar Conference Environmental Commission, Long Term Research Institute, Marine Mammal Interest Group, Minority Rights Group, Monitor Consortium, Nordic Ecoforum, Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, SAVE International, Save the Children, Sink or Swim Stiching, Survival in the High North, Survival International, Waterlife Association, Werkgroep Zeehond, Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society, Whaling Problem Discussion Committee, Windstar Foundation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, World Society for the Protection of Animals, World Wild Fund for Nature, Zoo Check.

members of the media and as observer, 2) some NGO observers produce newsletters during the plenary session, and 3) some NGOs report to the media as spokespersons for certain organizations. Thus, NGO observers' influence over the media who await in the press room during the IWC meetings is significant. Among all of the activities that NGOs are engaged in during the IWC, the most committed work is the publication of their daily newsletter, called ECO, reporting their observations and analysis of the IWC discussion. While ECO is the collaborated work of a number of anti-whaling NGOs, one pro-whaling NGO, namely the High North Alliance, published their own news letter for the first time at the 43rd annual meeting and more extensively in the following year. Their news letter, INTERNATIONAL HARPOON, presents their view of the IWC discussion to counter-balance the anti-whaling view presented by ECO.

In short, despite the Commission's rules of procedure which limit NGO's participation to observers, some play an influential role in the process of negotiation which takes place in the IWC. Often, the observers seating area becomes more active as controversial issues are discussed in the plenary session. For example, memos are passed down to certain member governments' commissioners from the NGO seating area, and members of certain government delegations step out of the meeting room with NGO observers for consultation.

News reporters from various countries come to the IWC meeting every year. At the 1991 meeting, approximately thirty reporters were accredited[21]. Each receives credentials and is expected to follow the rules which limit their access to the meeting. The first hour of the IWC plenary is open for media, who take pictures or record the largely ceremonial opening addresses. Following this, the journalists are restricted to the press room where they may listen to the plenary discussion through speakers. The media rely to a large extent on the written documents provided in the press room by various NGO groups while the IWC meeting is in progress. They may also interview IWC participants. An official press conference given by the Chairperson and Secretary of the Commission takes place at the end of each day of the plenary meeting, where the media receive the official review of the IWC discussion and may ask questions.

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[21] The number of reporters attending the 1992 meeting was approximately forty. It is likely that the high cost of travel to Iceland reduced the number of reporters attending the 1991 meeting.

It is noteworthy that much of the news reporting on the IWC meetings had an anti-whaling orientation. Some of the reporters are also accredited as observers representing anti-whaling NGOs. The selective interpretation of the day's events are reported to the general public through various means of media. The effective influence that the anti-whaling NGOs generate among the media is significant. Consequently, the perception of the general public concerning the IWC and whaling issues is likely influenced by this process.

Chapter 6. Social and cultural significance of STCW in Ayukawa-hama

A. Introduction

In-depth social science studies of the social and cultural aspects of STCW operations within the context of the Japanese nation-wide whaling cultural tradition have been completed by Akimichi et al. (1988), Takahashi et al. (1989), Braund at al. (1989), Kalland (1989), and Kalland and Moeran (1992). Akimichi et al. examine various aspects of the STCW operations and their relationship with the local people in the context of the historical whaling complex in Japan. They define whaling culture as:

> ... the shared knowledge of whaling transmitted across generations. This shared knowledge consists of a number of different socio-cultural inputs: a common heritage and world view, an understanding of ecological (including spiritual) and technological relations between human beings and whales, special distribution processes and a food culture (1988:75).

Takahashi et al. (1989) examined the continuity and diversity of various aspects of whaling that are found in pre-modern and modern whaling operations in Japan. They demonstrated that there are distinct sets of production-related activities that exhibit a high degree of continuity and that such continuities and similarities among the different forms of whaling provide the rationale for recognizing that an integrated whaling culture exists in Japan. Kalland (1989) analyzed the geographical expansion of whaling throughout Japan and demonstrated the continuity and coherence of Japanese whaling culture that has been fostered over the centuries. Kalland and Moeran (1992) discuss how the diffusion of whaling technology resulted in an emergence of whaling culture in various parts of Japan. They further conclude that the adaptation of whaling through a number of means such as the development of non-commercial distribution of whale meat, the evaluation of whale meat as cuisine, and the rituals and beliefs connected with whaling, gave rise to a local integrated whaling culture at the village level. Braund et al. (1989) summarized the social and cultural importance of STCW in contemporary Japan and state that STCW represents the most recent manifestation of the historical whaling tradition in Japan.

Four STCW communities: Abashiri, Ayukawa-hama, Wadaura and Taiji have also been subjects of numerous social science studies, which have been presented at the IWC as a response to questions and comments raised during various discussions (Chapter 5.A.). The case of Ayukawa-hama has been the major part of these studies, which have provided useful information in order to demonstrate the social and cultural importance of STCW operations for the people in the local coastal whaling communities.

The focus of the discussion in this chapter, therefore, will be given to the case of Ayukawa-hama where community development has heavily depended on an emergence of STCW and its evolution (Chapter 5.B.3). The discussion begins with a general analysis of the local whaling culture in Ayukawa-hama in order to understand the social and cultural significance of STCW prior to the implementation of the moratorium. This material is presented in summary form since such analysis has been well documented in the references cited above. This section will be followed by a discussion of more recent phenomena in which the local people strive to reconstruct their community by altering the course of the community development by the promotion of local tourism. The construction of Whale Land, a major tourist attraction, among others, is the principal means that the people in Ayukawa-hama have used in order to reach their goal (Japan 1990a).

In the later part of this chapter, a series of ethnographic interviews with the local people will be introduced in order that the local people's views on the current situation can be understood. The detailed description of verbal and non-verbal interactions between the local people and the researcher demonstrate the complex, uncertain, and unstable nature of the people's perception of the issues. The impact of the moratorium and uncertainty as to its duration has been altering the existing social, cultural and economic system of the local community. Under such unstable conditions, individuals in Ayukawa-hama have been creatively seeking ways to improve the local situation. Understanding the people's perceptions under such circumstances requires adopting an approach that leads to an understanding of the cognitive aspects of individual members of the community. Ethnographic interviews with the local people will be used for this purpose.

B. Social and cultural significance of STCW in Ayukawa-hama

The local people in Ayukawa-hama refer to their community as "*hogei no machi* (a whaling town)", indicating a commonly recognized intricate relationship between their everyday life and local whaling operations. The historical development of Ayukawa-hama is distinct from the other *hama* communities in the region, in that the establishment of a whaling base in Meiji 37 (1906) drastically altered the demography of the community. The population growth in the short time following the establishment of the whaling operations as a result of major migration of newcomers to Ayukawa-hama as a fishing community necessarily affected various social and cultural aspects of the community. The traditional social structure in Ayukawa-hama was reformed to a great extent after the introduction of whaling. Various aspects of whaling activities, which are highly specialized and distinct from other type of fishing, have become deeply integrated into the economic, social and cultural lives of the people (Oshika-chō 1988).

Development of STCW in Ayukawa-hama was crucial to the establishment of the present local whaling culture. While only the production phase of whaling activities was locally concentrated in the case of LTCW, in the case of STCW operations all three phases of whaling and whaling-related activities - the production, distribution and consumption of whale products - locally concentrated with observable economic social and cultural implications (Japan 1990b, 1993a; for the case of Abashiri, see Iwasaki-Goodman and Freeman 1994)[22]. The STCW operation, thus, is community-based whaling which has economically, socially and culturally influenced the development of Ayukawa-hama. STCW operations continue to meet important contemporary needs associated with the high symbolic value of whales and whaling, the high dietary value placed on whale products, the high value of whale meat in gift exchanges and for various other ceremonial purposes. As well, STCW serves to maintain the distinctive regional cuisine, local identity, and occupational prestige associated with whaling, and also serves as a means to transfer traditional skills, values and attitudes intergenerationally and to maintain the spiritual bonds that have long been celebrated between whales, whalers and the community people (Braund at al. 1989) It is these social and cultural aspects of the people's lives in Ayukawa-hama that constitute the local whaling culture and which gave rise to the creation of community identity (Japan 1987; Kalland and Moeran 1992)[23].

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[22] This also applies in the case of the other two JSTCW communities of Wadaura and Taiji, but in these cases the sepcies locally hunted are Baird's beaked whales and pilot whales respectively.

[23] Another example of the role of whaling operations in preserving the core values of a culturally distinct society is well documented by Freeman et al. (1992), who examined the resumption of Bowhead whale hunting in Aklavik, Canada.

1) Social networks

Some social networks in Ayukawa-hama have been established around various activities related to STCW production and the distribution and consumption of products. The smallest unit of these social networks is found among those directly involved in the whaling operations. One of the most overt characteristics of STCW in the production phase is its small-scale nature and the consequent intimacy among the people who are involved in STCW production (Iwasaki 1988;Akimichi et al. 1988;Japan 1990b, Kalland and Moeran 1992). Five to eight people comprise a STCW crew and operate a boat, owned by local individuals in Ayukawa-hama. The crews, flensers and other workers in the flensing station are locally recruited through personal networks, including through kin-based relationships. Therefore, complex ties which connect the people involved in STCW are inevitably very personal. The work conditions of the crews as well as the flensers reinforce such intimacy, in that they form a cohesive working group in which they maintain their membership over many years. They often refer to the process of establishing the work relationship as "ketsuen wo tsukuru" (create kin-relationship). Thus, the kinship and the quasi-kinship relation is one of the binding forces that characterizes the production phase of STCW (Akimichi et al. 1988).

The interaction among the crew, flensers and boat owners is most intense during the whaling season, yet during the off-whaling season a close relationship is maintained by occasional visits to each other, by attending common social functions and through their gifting network. The whaling crews, flensers and boat owners and their family members form an identifiable social group within the local community[24].

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[24] In Abashiri, it is the "core whaling group" that constitutes the STCW community, rather than the majority of the local people as in the case of Ayukawa-hama (Iwasaki 1988).

The social networks surrounding the STCW operations in Ayukawa-hama extends further through gift-giving in which whale meat and blubber is distributed among the local people (Akimichi et al. 1988;Japan 1989b;Kalland and Moeran 1992). Gifting of both a formal and a casual nature are important social institutions typically observed in Japanese society (Befu 1968,1974,1979;Ito and Kurita 1984). In Ayukawa-hama, it is the whale meat and blubber that have high social and symbolic value as gift items, thus playing a dominant role in mobilizing the gifting institution.

Once the whale is brought into the flensing station, the flensers and the helpers engage in flensing operations while the local people gather to watch them. The whale meat and blubber are processed for commercial distribution in which the local Fisheries Cooperative Association takes charge. At the same time, varying portions of the flensed whale are gifted through the social networks[25].

Complex reciprocal gifting rules govern the specifications of gifting, such as the appropriate gifting partners, the time, the manner and degree of formality, and the quality of the gifted item. Such whale-based gifting is practised year-round, including during the non-whaling season (Akimichi et al. 1988;Braund et al. 1990;Kalland and Moeran 1992).

In Ayukawa-hama, whale-based gifting is carried out extensively throughout the community. Whale meat and blubber is given to the crew members, flensing team and the relatives and neighbours of the crew members. Whale meat gifts also reach public institutions such as the community centre, fire station, temples and shrines, children's association and old people's clubs (Akimichi et al. 1988)[26]. Such community-wide gift exchange, using whale meat and blubber, has been so intensive that for the local people, *kujira wa morau mono* (whale is something to be given) rather than "something to buy"[27].

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[25] Kalland and Moeran presents detail accounts of *hatsuryō iwai* (first catch gift-giving) which took place in April of 1986. They describe that "one of the boat owners received a total of 156 bottles of *saki*, together with a few bottles of whisky and crates of beer and Coca Cola.....the 86 people who participated in the first catch gift-giving received approximately 200 kg of whale meat in return" (1992:144).

It is important to note that despite the economic importance of whale catching and product processing and distribution in Ayukawa-hama and indeed, in Oshika-chō as a whole, this commercial distribution of STCW products also contributes significantly to fufilling varied cultural and social needs of the local people (Japan 1992d). For example, the whale meat sold at the stores is often used for gifting, or for private consumption which consequently helps to maintain the whale-based food culture that has been developed over the years (Akimichi et al. 1988). Community-wide social networks are further reinforced through the maintenance of the local whale-based cuisine.

2) The local whale-based cuisine

The consumption phase of the STCW operation is extremely significant, as it closely relates to the local dietary patterns of Ayukawa-hama (Akimichi et al. 1988;Braund et al. 1990;Japan 1991a,d,1992a,c;Kalland and Moeran 1992;Manderson and Akatsu 1994). The importance of whale meat and blubber in the local food culture is best expressed in the recurring statement by the local people that "it is not Ayukawa, if we don't have whale meat to eat." (Field notes 1991).

In all whaling districts throughout Japan it is common to find differences in regional preference of whale cuisine, involving varied cooking methods and the preferred species and selected parts of the whale. The favoured whale species in Ayukawa-hama is minke whale, which is eaten as *sashimi* (thinly sliced raw meat and blubber)[28]. Minke *sashimi* is eaten year-round. During the whaling season, it is eaten fresh mainly as a part of everyday meals. Fresh minke whale meat is also used for ceremonial purposes during the whaling season. During the remainder of the year, when fresh minke whale meat is not available, whale meat is used as a part of everyday meals much less frequently. It has also been served by public institutions such as schools and hospitals[29]. Ceremonial consumption of minke *sashimi* also occurs during the non-whaling season, using as the source, the blocks of minke whale meat which are kept frozen.

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[26] In the case of Abashiri, non-cash distribution of whale meat and blubber is not carried out as widely, and it usually involves boat owners, crew members, flensers, their families, other relatives and neighbours, and business associates (Iwasaki 1988).

[27] This is often heard also in Wadaura and Taiji.

Whales and whaling are closely connected with the historical development of the community and they symbolically represent local prosperity. Such special social and cultural value of whales and whaling makes whale meat and blubber *meibutsu/meisanhin* (the locally produced and distributed speciality food item), which is associated with Ayukawa-hama[30].

In summary, whale meat and blubber is considered the nutritionally and culturally superior food in Ayukawa-hama and has formed an important aspect of the local whaling culture.

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[28] The people in Abashiri enjoy minke whale *sashimi*, along with ceremonial dishes such as *kujira jiru* (vegetable stew cooked with blubber). In Wadaura, *tare* (sun-dried sliced Baird's beaked whale meat) is the most favoured whale dish. The people in Taiji generally prefer Bryde's whale meat and pilot whale meat, although the wives of minke whalers from this town share Ayukawa people's preference for minke whale (Akimichi et al. 1988)

[29] In Abashiri, consumption of whale meat and blubber has been usually limited to household consumption.

[30] This is not the case in Abashiri where crab products plays the role of *meibutsu/meisanhin*. However, in Taiji and Wadaura, as in Ayukawa-hama, it is whale products that are recognized as *meibutsu/meisanhin*.

3) Rituals and belief

Celebration and religious rites are important aspects of culture manifested in a series of localized ritual events associated with production, distribution and consumption of STCW which occur within the whaling community (Akimichi et al. 1989;Japan 1989b). Akimichi et al.(1988) examine the complex belief system observable in Ayukawa-hama within the larger framework of the Japanese world view. Intricate merging of two main religious belief systems, Buddhism and Shintoism, is a common phenomenon in Japanese society. This syncretism produces the core of Japanese religious life which focuses on values which emphasize filial piety, reciprocity and cooperation. It also involves purely localized religious traditions since community people are "more committed to the continued observance of those rites memorializing ancestors or celebrating the local mode of subsistence" (ibid:52).

In the case of rural Japanese communities, whatever a family's or a community's mode of subsistence may be, its perpetuation is regarded as a sacred religious duty. In regard to the people of Ayukawa-hama, whaling has been a historically significant subsistence activity, which remains well integrated into the economic, social and cultural domain of the peoples' life today (Akimichi at al. 1988;Japan 1989b). Naturally, religious rites that these people practice have been closely linked to whaling and whaling-related activities.

Another important aspect in the local religious observances relates to the perceived relationship between animals, namely whales in this case, and humans:

> The Japanese perceive an interdependent world between animals and humans and reciprocal relations between these realms. The taking of life and the depth of this feeling is apparent in the energy and time expended in atonement and gratitude for it (Akimichi et al. 1988:53).

Interdependence and an appropriate reciprocal relationship between whales and human is influenced by the religious acts on the part of humans, who achieve the required goal through the appropriate observance of religious rites. There are three Shinto shrines and one Buddhist temple in Ayukawa-hama, all of which serve as the sites for such religious observances. Shinto gods (Kami) who reside in nature and govern the spiritual interaction between the natural world and humans, become the subjects of religious rites, through which humans seek their reward, such as a good catch and safety. The sound relationship with the souls of whales as well as those whalers who died at sea is achieved through various religious practices, which are held often at Buddhist temples. Such religious rites are carried out individually and collectively. Appendix 4, Table 7 lists numerous whale-related religious practices, which are observed in Ayukawa-hama. These rites also occur at dedicated shrines outside of the community itself (e.g.Kinkasan shrine). The table indicates that such rites are practised at home, on whaling boats, and in public places such as Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines[31]. Furthermore, these religious practices are observed daily, seasonally and annually, requiring extremely frequent individual and collective participation (Akimichi et al. 1988;Japan 1989b;Kalland and Moeran 1992).

In summary, the social and cultural significance of STCW in Ayukawa-hama is reflected in their elaborate religious rituals and celebrations, which are observed individually, as a whaling-centered group, or with wider community participation.

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[31] In the case of Abashiri, whaling-related religious practice are concentrated among those who are directly involved in whaling activities, while the people in Taiji hold various community-wide rituals, through which they ensure the sound relationship with nature, and the repose of the souls of killed whales and those whaler who died at sea. Rituals are also held to celebrate the harvest of the season.

4) Recent developments following the moratorium

The moratorium has caused serious stress on the local economic, social and cultural systems. The dysfunction of local economy, social networks, the local whale-based cuisine, and religious rituals concerning whales and whaling has threatened the continuation of the whaling culture upon which Ayukawa-hama has developed (Japan 1989a). In order to ensure the survival of the community, the people in Ayukawa-hama, led by the mayor of Oshika-chō, chose to re-direct its course of development toward the promotion of local tourism (Japan 1990a)[32]. Innovative thinking for the future of Oshika-chō led to the establishment of Oshika Whale Land, which was opened in October of Heisei 2 (1990). This opening occurred two years after the moratorium became effective.

While the old "Kujira Hakubutsukan (whale museum)", which was replaced by the new "Whale Land", in large part displayed the history of the whaling industry in Ayukawa-hama and elsewhere in Japan, this new museum presents an interesting mixture of old and new meanings of whales and whaling.

Whale Land was built at the site where one of the LTCW companies used to have its flensing station. It is near the ferry terminal where the tourists spend time before and after their visit to Kinkasan, a nearby shrine. Standing outside of Whale Land, a visitor first notices a catcher boat, which was used in Antarctic whaling and was brought onshore as a part of the museum display. With a modern building behind it, this catcher boat stands proudly as a symbol of Ayukawa whaling history. A large whaling cannon placed in front of the main door to the museum also represents the historical importance of Ayukawa whaling. However, for some people in Ayukawa-hama, the catcher boat and the whaling cannon that will never be used again are a sad reminder that the heyday of whaling is gone. The wife of one of the old whalers passionately stated that she and her husband did not want to see the catcher boat being a part of the museum display, because the boat should be in the ocean where it belongs, not on the ground like a lifeless object (Field note 1990).

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[32] Nelson Graburn (1990 unpublished) has investigated possibilities for development of tourism in Taiji, Wadaura and Ayukawa-hama. He concluded that in the absence of continued whaling as a marketable unique local cultural highlight, attempts to base tourism upon historic connections to whaling puts these three communities into competition with each other for tourism-development resources.

Entering the automatic door into Whale Land, a visitor sees a display of various fish in columnar aquaria in the lobby area. There is a coffee shop that seats about 30 people on the left end of the lobby. This is only the second coffee shop operating in downtown Ayukawa-hama. Next to the coffee shop is the gift shop where a visitor will go at the end of the tour of the museum. An entrance to the display rooms is on the right side of the lobby area. Following the sign, a visitor will enter the three display rooms where biological information on various whales is presented.

One big difference between the method of display in Whale Land and that of the old whale museum is the use of whale models. In the old whale museum, there were artifacts of whaling equipment, as well as the bones and teeth of whales and various parts of whales in jars, which were displayed throughout the museum. The display of real artifacts conveyed the vivid story of the local whaling operations that many local people have witnessed. On the other hand, Whale Land presents educational material on the biology of whales, using panels, artificial models of whales and high-tech audio-visual equipment. Young women work full time in the display rooms as guides, explaining each display item to the visitors. Just beside the main display rooms, there is a small room where most of the artifacts from the old whale museum are placed. In the absence of colourful and auditory effects, this room looks as unattractive as a storage room.

The content of the display in Whale Land also differs significantly from that of the old whale museum. While biological presentation of whales in the old whale museum emphasized utilitarian aspects of these animals (e.g. human food, industrial oil, etc.), the display in Whale Land presents the biological nature of whale based on non-lethal utilization (e.g. whale watching). This tendency is heightened in the message conveyed by two movies which form part of the exhibit. One is an animated movie about a boy's journey across the Pacific Ocean, searching for the gold whale. His journey ends at Ayukawa-hama where he finds his gold whale. Throughout both movies, songs by the Beatles are used. Needless to say, such music creates a modern and foreign atmosphere to the Japanese viewers. The other movie is a documentary film which takes you on a whale-watching trip. The narrator repeatedly talks about communicating with whales, becoming friends with whales and finally concludes that it is the time for human beings to establish a new relationship with whales. This movie focus on the beauty and intelligence of whales, portraying whales as unique creatures that deserve a special relationship with human beings.

In another open area within Whale Land, pictures of coastal whaling operations and whaling expeditions to the Antarctic are displayed. In this area which is small, compared to the three main display rooms, the history of the three forms of whaling operations that the local people in Ayukawa-hama have engaged in are modestly presented.

Walking through Whale Land, a visitor is inevitably introduced to values related to whales which are not native to Ayukawa-hama. These new values are substantially different from the traditional perception of whales in Ayukawa-hama, where whales continue to be regarded as an important resource for human consumption. This perception becomes most apparent at the end of the tour when a visitor enters the gift shop. The old set of values of whales is abundantly clear in this gift shop. Instead of science and picture books on whales, which are normally found in whale museums of this nature in the western urban context, various kinds of whale products such as canned whale meat and crafts made of whale teeth and baleen are on the shelves, attracting a number of tourists who visit Whale Land.

The process and planning behind such a grand project to establish Whale Land which incorporated both old and new values was rather complex. A news article, reporting the opening of Whale Land, states in its heading "*Hogei kara kankō e* ([shift] from whaling to tourism" (Asahi Shinbun October 7, 1990). Did Ayukawa-hama really made a clear shift from a whaling community to a tourism town? Has it truly left whaling behind and moved on to tourism? In the interviews with local people, the majority view expressed is that local tourism will be successful only if it is accompanied by continued local whaling which will maintain the town's identity as a whaling community and provide for a whale-based local cuisine that will enhance the community's attraction to tourists.

The record of town council meetings reveals the situation in which the planning of Whale Land was carried out. In the first town council meeting in the Heisei 1 (1989), it is recorded that the director of the department of planning who is in charge of Whale Land, explained that he is in the process of consultation with the museum display designers in Tokyo. He stated that:

> ...the advice given to him was that the display should follow the examples seen in foreign countries, where, instead of the display of real parts of whale, the models and pictures are used to explain that 'whales are fun and pleasing and that they relate directly with human beings'.
> (Oshika-chō gikai gijiroku, the first assembly, January 20, 1989.)

In response, one of the town council members stated that:

> ...it is no use to listen to those people who have never seen whales in real life. It is crucially important that it [Whale Land] create an image of this town as a whaling base.
> (Oshika-chō gikai gijiroku, the first assembly, January

20, 1989)

This original confrontation continues to be evident among the local people who have visited Whale Land, and who repeatedly express dissatisfaction about the new perceptions of whales. Whale Land seems symbolic of the present state of the local people's feelings, in that they are forced to accept the changing circumstances but they are naturally expressing their disagreement with and rejection of these foreign ideas that clash with their basic perceptions of whales and whaling that they have fostered over the years.

C. Meeting people in Ayukawa-hama

Since 1986, the researcher has conducted a series of interviews and recorded interpersonal interactions in four STCW communities. Analysis has been completed for each interview and interaction, providing background to this research. In this section, one interaction and three interviews, representing different types of interpersonal interactions, are analyzed in order to understand the local people's view of the whaling issue and the changing situation in their community. These interviews and interaction are introduced in this section, because their content represents the perception of the majority of interviewees that the researcher has met. The interaction and interviews are: 1) a gathering of local people with various interests, 2) an interview involving two whaling boat owners, 3) an interview with a non-whaler and 4) an interview with a former whaler and his wife. In each interaction and interview, the researcher was involved as a participant. The discussion was carried out in Japanese, the native language for all the participants. The English translation, completed by the researcher, is provided in this chapter.

1) The party to celebrate mayor's election

An invitation came to me to participate in a special party that the whalers in Ayukawa-hama were organizing for the mayor to celebrate the renewal of his term as mayor. I was told that there will be various kinds of whale dishes, prepared to celebrate the occasion. About half an hour before the party was to start, I went to the restaurant, which is one of the oldest restaurants in town. I went into the kitchen so that I would be able to observe whale being cooked. Just like most of the Japanese dishes, all the whale dishes that were prepared that evening, were cooked or prepared (in the case of *sashimi*, whale meat and blubber was simply sliced) just before they were served. A half an hour gave me enough time to see the final stage of preparation of various whale dishes.

Surprisingly, I was not the only one who came into the kitchen before entering the dining room. All the guests who came to the party came through the kitchen door, walked through the kitchen where the owner of the restaurant and his wife were busy preparing the meal. They then went to sit in the *chanoma* which is a family room, also serving as a dining room and a living room. Since the *chanoma* is located adjacent to the kitchen, it was convenient for the guests to enjoy a chat with each other and with the restaurant owner, who used to be a whaler. As the owner of the restaurant and his wife were working, they explained to me what they were making and how much people appreciate each dish. Since coastal minke whaling had been banned, the whale meat that they were preparing was brought by one of the STCW boat owners from his storage. One of the guests brought, as his contribution to the party, one block of frozen minke whale meat, a share of the Antarctic research by-product[33]. On the kitchen counter, the dishes that were ready to be served were lined up. *Sashimi*, with slices of red meat and white blubber, whale steak, battered and deep-fried whale called *kujira no furittā*, whale bacon, etc.

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[33] the GOJ began its current scientific whale research program in the Antarctic in 1988. In accordance with the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, the by-products from these research activities have been utilized

The room where the party was to be held was on the second floor. There are two rooms, which are divided with sliding doors. However, the sliding doors were all open to allow two rooms to be used, in order to accommodate ten guests, who were supposed to be attending this party. On the wall at the head of the room, near *tokonoma* (an alcove), the banner was put up, saying "Congratulations, re-elected mayor" in black and red ink. At about six o'clock, the people who were in *chanoma*, waiting for the cooking to be done and for the room to be made ready, moved up to the second floor. The mayor was seated at the head of the table. I was led to sit next to him, indicating that I am also an honoured guest to this party. Two town council members were seated opposite from me, followed by the chairperson of the Oshika Tourism Association, an owner of the biggest souvenir shop in town, and the Town Hall staff, one of whom is a director of Whale Land. Mr. A who was one of the hosts, sat at the end of the table. Mr. B a senior whaler, sat next to me.

Now, the party is about to begin. Mr. A opens the party by introducing the reasons for the occasion. Following Mr. A's opening speech, the mayor speaks about his determination to fulfill his responsibility as a second-term mayor. After the mayor's speech, I am introduced to the group as one of the researchers who has worked to write reports for the IWC to promote an understanding of what whaling means to the people in Ayukawa. Being invited to talk to the group, I thank them for cooperating with the researchers, including myself, in our effort to learn about the way of life in Ayukawa. One of the

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through a controlled distribution system. Oshika-chō has been receiving its share of minke whale meat and blubber in order to alleviate the social and cultural distress, caused by the implementation of the moratorium.

town council members, Mr. C proposes a toast, by saying:

> Mayor, congratulations. I wish you the best effort for the resumption of whaling in Ayukawa. Ms. Iwasaki, I thank you very much for your work. We all wish for your continued effort. *kanpai* (bottoms up)!

While the party is opened ceremoniously, the rest of the group take part in the ceremony by applauding and nodding to the speech. I am feeling uneasy for being treated as one of the main guests to this party. Although I appreciate the whalers' warm thoughts, becoming the centre of attention rather than an invisible participant observer makes me puzzled. I hastily ask the group for permission to use a tape recorder to keep the record of the questions and the answers. The group answers positively. After a short silence while the group have drinks and food, Mr. C initiates the conversation by asking me whether this is my first visit to Ayukawa. Then, he brings up the issue of whaling:

Mr.C: Gradually, things are looking better, aren't they?
Iwasaki: Yes.
Mr.C: We would like the quota for our coastal whaling.

The rest of the people at the table pay attention to the exchange between Mr. C and Iwasaki:

Mr.C: Commissioner Shima really worked hard, I heard.
Iwasaki: [Hesitatingly] Yes.
Mr.C: Well, also.... It seems to me, they have given in a lot, and have softened their position.
Iwasaki: [Hesitatingly] Yes.
Mr.D: The wall of the world is thick, I think.
Mr.C: But I think it is strange that they are making fuss now. Why didn't they put restriction around the time when antarctic whaling began.
Iwasaki: Yes.
Mr.C: They were catching ten thousand and some whales every year, see. They continued that for some ten years. No wonder they [whales] are gone.

Mr.C was a whaler, worked on an antarctic whaling boat and a

STCW boat. Because of his personal interest, he has been following closely the recent development of the discussion on a resumption of commercial whaling at the IWC. He seems more optimistic than I am. However, I try to be polite, and do not want to contradict him.

Iwasaki: I read in that [report] that you yourself were involved in whaling. Did you go to the Antarctic?
Mr. C: [nods]
Iwasaki: Oh, is that right.
Mr. C: While I was catching whales, I wondered if this was right.Ten thousand, in blue whale units. That is twenty thousands in fin whale unit......It is a wonder that there were that many whales.

Mr. C seems to be the most out-spoken of all, so far. The others are beginning to be more talkative, as they drink more. The voices of those who are speaking with the person next to them becomes louder. The lady of the restaurant comes into the room with more drinks, and sits with us to explain the dipping sauce for certain dishes. While I am having a conversation with her about whale dishes, Mr. E joins in.

Mr.E: This is from the Antarctic. The coastal one [minke whale meat] has a better colour....so not only the people in Ayukawa, ... say that it is tastier than tuna. We can't catch them..... when I was young, I was on a whaling boat...
Iwasaki: Which [whaling] boat?
Mr.E: Well, this, this man's father.
Iwasaki: Oh.
Mr.E: This man [the father] started, let's say in Japanese, before World War II, showa 12 ..... 72 years old.
Iwasaki: Young. You don't look that old, at all.
Mr.E: I was on a boat about 60 years ago. Since I finished high school, so I was 16 years old. Do you know the company called Nihon Suisan.
Iwasaki: Yes.
Mr.E: In that company.....

The older people in Ayukawa-hama are all in extremely good shape and look young and healthy. The people at the table here are unbelievably young-looking. There is a discussion at the table about how a whale-based diet has a positive effect on aging.

As people's voice reaches the highest levels, as they drink more, one man moves next to me. The mayor introduces him to me.

Mayor: This is a chairperson of the Tourism Association.
Mr. F: Hello.
Iwasaki: I am Iwasaki.
Mayor: Iwasaki-san, you probably have eaten at the chairperson's restaurant at least once, I am sure.
Mr. B: Iwasaki-san, his father was a mayor, and also an owner of large-type and small-type whaling company...
Mr. F: My father is ninety some years old...

Mr. F. is a middle-aged man, one of the youngest people in this group. He moves from where he had been sitting to sit next to me, so that he can introduce himself to me. I have never met him before, but his name and his father's name have been mentioned by various people whom I talked to in the past. His father is one of the founders of the town as well as one of the original local whaling operators in Ayukawa-hama. After his father's whaling business came to an end, Mr. F opened a restaurant, serving whale dishes among other dishes to attract tourists who travel through Ayukawa-hama to go to Kinkasan. His restaurant is located close to the ferry terminal where the heaviest tourist traffic is. Just like most of the shops and restaurants in this area, the buildings were once used as flensing stations and processing factories for whale meat and blubber. After the closure of whaling stations and the consequent closure of whaling-related businesses, these buildings were renovated into restaurants and shops. Mr.F is one of those people who shifted from the whaling and whale processing business to the restaurant business, catering to the tourists.

The party becomes more lively as people drink more. The lady owner of this restaurant comes into the room with more drinks and is serving it to each one of us. When she comes next to me to serve me a drink, I initiate a conversation by asking questions about the local whale dishes that she is familiar with.

Mrs. A: In the past, until about three years ago, we brought a pot here, an iron pot. You spread oil and grill [whale meat] and eat it with grated long radish and dipping sauce, while you grill it. It was very tasty. We did it with sei whale. Minke whale is not quite right. You grill it and eat it in dipping sauce, like *teppanyaki*. It is very tasty when it is hot. We eat *sashimi* recently. [Whale] is the best when cooked with vegetables; Vegetable stew [with whale]. It goes well with rice. Whale fritter. You cook it only with egg white and deep fry it. It tastes better, when it is hot.

While a few plates of whale *sashimi* are placed in the center of the table within everyone's reach, most other whale dishes are placed towards the head of the table. Since the mayor had pushed those near him towards me, so that I could reach, most of the whale dishes ended up in front of me. Others seem to be less interested in whale dishes except for the plate of whale *sashimi*.

As the party continued on, the people at the table become louder, making it difficult for me to hear. My introduction to the core group of the whaling-related networks in Ayukawa is about to end, when Mr. A makes an announcement that the party is not over, but simply moving on to the bar. Everyone, almost as if they knew the plan in advance, is ready to move on. I stand up, wondering whether I should be following them or gracefully excusing myself. Before I come to my conclusion, Mr. A rushed me to move on to the bar with them. So I did.

2) Visiting Mr.B

Mr. A and I dropped in to see Mr. B one afternoon without notice. Mr. B invited us in for tea. Mr. B is one of the senior whalers in Ayukawa-hama and has an extensive personal network in town. His *chanoma* is set up to receive frequent visitors. Mr. B sits in front of the table facing the door, which is always half open. In front of the door, there are a few cushions placed to welcome visitors. On his left, he has a telephone within his reach. A large cabinet behind him gives space for his paper work as well as for snacks and drinks to serve his guests. Mr. B's wife usually came to sit with us at the right end of the table, serving us green tea and a snack. When a guest leaves, Mr. B or his wife turns the cushion that the guest had used in order to refresh it to be ready for the next guest.

Mr. B seems happy to have us and offers us a snack. Mrs. B quickly comes to sit with us to serve us tea, which she places in front of us with a polite greeting. Mrs. B goes into the kitchen and comes back with an orange for us. I thank her for the special treat, while I explain to Mr. B about my visit to Whale Land. I was somehow puzzled with the theme of Whale Land, which is consistent throughout both the display and the content of the video shown in the theatre. Mr.B asks me a direct question and asks for my evaluation of Whale Land.

Mr. B:	Well, Iwasaki-san, over-all, after seeing it, what is your evaluation? What kind of mark do you give?
Iwasaki:	[Smiled]
Mr. B:	I bet, not such a good mark.
Iwasaki:	..... well, in order to attract tourists... let's say as an attraction, or say an eye-catcher, well, [Whale Land] has a new atmosphere, something that you cannot find around here. So in that sense, it is effective and attractive to bring tourists here. ..... But, when you listen carefully, for example in the movies, it seems to lead us to the conclusion that the whale is to watch and not something that you catch.

I am put on a spot where I have to express my own opinion on Whale Land. Since I did not understand how the people in Ayukawa came to build a facility where quite a new view of whales and whaling is presented, I am not about to make a negative comment. Instead, I try to make my comment as neutral as possible. However, my honest feeling leaks out in my last comment. I end my sentence with hesitation, but I am relieved by the follow-up comment made by Mrs. B, the wife of Mr.B.

Mrs. B: [Directing toward Mr. B] I agree. Didn't you see those movies?

Mr. B: I have not seen it.

Iwasaki: Did you see it? That was how it ended, at the end of that movie. [Laughter]

Mrs. B: I went, well, when I had a friend from far away. Together, we went to see the whole thing.

Iwasaki: How was your impression?

Mrs. B: When we saw them, they sounded like it is O.K. not to let us catch whales.

Iwasaki: Yes. The new way to relate to whales, or something like that. [Laughter] Therefore, I thought they were made by someone who is not from Ayukawa. That was what I was thinking.

Mrs. B: The movies may be interesting. But from the point of view of the local people such as myself, they are unpleasant.

Mr. B: [Pointing to Mr. A] You are one of the committee members. How many are there? About ten? How many are there?

Mr.A: At the beginning, there were many. Later, they met twice, I think? Well.... After that, the steering committee members were six or seven. I am one of them, but [it is a shame that] I don't go to these meetings.

Iwasaki: The things exhibited there are, after all, educational and interesting. You can't find them in other places. Things like whale biology, or weight in comparison to your weight. They have a little bit of game-element. People from far away, I think, will find it interesting, because they can't find it in other places. The whole tone [of Whale Land], I thought, was more urban-like.

Mrs. B: They don't mean much to us local people....

Iwasaki: Definitely. They may be good for those who come from other places and don't know whales. It [Whale Land] does not present what the local people want the visitors to know [about whaling].

I am further encouraged by Mrs. B's shared feelings about what has been presented at Whale Land, and make a firmer statement, criticizing the exhibition there. Although Mr. A, earlier in a discussion with a director of Whale Land, was more aggressive about his criticism regarding the same issue, he is quieter in this discussion, so far. Mrs. B is a native of Ayukawa, living here all her life. With her rich exposure to whaling as a whaler's wife, she has abundant information and is articulate in sharing her knowledge. While Mrs. B and I exchange our views, Mr. B checks our tea and snack, making sure that everyone has enough. Then, he passes empty cups to Mrs. B to be filled. Mrs. B, at the end of the table, takes the cups and fills them with tea, while taking part in the discussion very naturally. Later, I found out that Mr.A is a distant relative of hers. That may be a part of the reason for her comfortable participation in our discussion.

We go on talking about the whaling museum in Taiji, where Mr.A once lived. When comparing the whaling museums there and the one in Ayukawa, Mr. A starts to express his view on what is exhibited in Whale Land.

Mr. A: For example, things like pamphlets, of whaling boat chasing after a whale. Something dynamic. Something that is scary but makes kids want to see more. That, I have been telling them [the Oshika town hall staff] to produce...However, the typical bureaucratic work, [they say] we can not do it because of no budget....

Iwasaki: I had been interested in knowing how the local people feel about it, seeing the Whale Land.

Mrs. B: After all, I don't know [what it will do] for whaling...for tourism...but...there has been many talks about what good will this do, spending one billion and some yen, or spending town budget or the tax money... However, at the end, it [Whale Land] makes Ayukawa what Ayukawa has been. If it had not been for that, there is nothing to see at all.

The fact that Whale Land lacks an emphasis on the importance of whaling to the local community has been the target of the discussion. Mr. A joins in, by strongly arguing his view on the need for a better presentation of local whaling operations. The discussion that I initiated and led comes to an interesting end when Mrs. B makes a statement regarding the symbolic value of Whale Land. Without an active local whaling operation, Whale Land, disregarding the content of the exhibition, does play a symbolic role, reminding people of Ayukawa's relationship with whales.

Mr. B has been listening to our exchange, without much reaction to any of our remarks. However, having a hotel business beside being a STCW boat owner, Mr.B has a lot to offer in denying the expected benefit that Whale Land is supposed to give to local tourism. He talks with passion, arguing that an attempt to promote tourism in Ayukawa is not so easy, because of the lack of tourist attractions that can sustain year-round tourism. The room we are all sitting in is comfortable and the tea cups have been kept refilled.

Mr. B is one of the well-respected elders, and a successful businessman in town. His talk on this issue is confident and convincing. While the rest of us are listening to him, a guest comes into the house and interrupts his talk. About the same time, Mr. B's daughter and her family are getting ready to leave. They come into the room to greet Mr. and Mrs. B, and to pay respect to their family ancestors at the Buddhist altar, which is placed in the centre of the next room. Our conversation is interrupted for a while. After the interruption, Mr. A resumes our discussion by presenting his view of the future of Ayukawa-hama.

Mr. A: In that sense, we aim for whaling with the least commercialism involved, but as an owner, we need to be concerned about the running cost. The question is how to reduce [the scale of] distribution. Then the way would be to develop both whale cuisine and tourism, in that people can eat whale dishes when they come to Ayukawa. [That can be] an image of Ayukawa.....I don't believe that a resumption of minke whaling will bring tourists, but it will be one of the elements that will make the tourists stay [here]....

Mrs. B: Because I had to deliver lots of whale throughout the town, a bucketful of whale, I had inflammation of a tendon sheath.

Iwasaki: Is that right? [Laughter]

Mr. B: As Mr. A just mentioned, we need to be prepared for a consistent, lowest [catch of minke whale], for example fifty... The frozen [minke whale meat] that we now get does not have a real taste. That is frozen, after all...

Mrs. B: In our family, we get two household shares [of whale meat], but we hardly eat it.

Mr. B: It is not that we do not eat it...many [reasons]...we want to give even one slice [of whale meat], giving it...when you receive something ... when you think of local speciality here, whale comes to our mind. As Mr. A said, the people do not appreciate it when they were given something you can find anywhere. We try to give away even a slice to the people we know. Then, the receiver will [remember] "Ah, I went to Ayukawa and was given whale".

The importance of minke whale for gifting is repeated a few times later.

Mrs. B: Those who grew up here and married out to Tokyo or other places ask for whale from the Antarctic. Then, those [in town] ask the single-member households forcefully, or try everything possible, to buy whale to send it to them.

Mr. A: Therefore, as you saw yesterday, we need to have [the antarctic whale meat] in small pieces, otherwise, a big chunk of whale meat does not do any good.

Mrs. B: After all, those who grew up here care less about other whales, but if it is minke whale, they phone one after the other. People here cannot help but spend some ten thousand yen to buy it to send.

Iwasaki: Are there people who eat Baird's beaked whale landed here?

Mr. B: There are. Now, everyone, everyone eats it.

Mrs. B: All because there is no minke. Anything whale... Baird's beaked whale is preferred to fish. After all, it has a taste of whale.

The discussion on preference for minke whale is interesting to me, as I have heard Mr. A and B making a point about minke whale meat being the sole preferred whale specie for *sashimi* in another context. It is especially striking to hear Mr. B emphasizing that the people eat Baird's beaked whale *sashimi* by using the word "everyone". Mr. B further explains that one of his friends had a taste test between *sashimi* made of minke whale meat from the antarctic and Baird's beaked whale *sashimi* and that he decided Baird's beaked whale *sashimi* tasted better.

Iwasaki: Then, can minke whale meat be substituted [with Baird's beaked whale]?

Mr. A: Well, listen. Baird's beaked whale...to make my point short, the image that the local people have in this town, as I have been repeating many times, is firstly minke whale. And rather than having to use money to eat whale, having to buy and eat it, the history for the people here is to be given a share of whale by whaling station workers, whaling crew, or relatives of the boat owners. Therefore, people think that whale is free. ...I cannot sell whale without an understanding of the price. So when someone comes to the door with a bucket to buy whale, I cannot say it is 2000 yen. "This is all [for 2000 yen]." would be the response....Now, each boat is only allowed to catch six whales.

The discussion becomes rather heated. Each person's talk becomes a lot longer. I have become a listener and an observer as the discussion develops.

Mrs. B: The foreigner told me that minke *sashimi* is tasty. So I asked if this kind of whale comes to where they live. He said they do. So I asked if they catch and eat them. He said they don't....Once an American said that he feels sorry for the whale...then I wondered they must have a close feeling for cows and other [farm animals] that they feed everyday and take care of their health and look after. As for us, we shoot a whale just when we see it. We don't feed them, so we don't have feelings toward them. You Americans eat those you raised with loving care. That is more cruel.

Mrs. B's remarks about cruelty to farm animals is followed up by Mr. B, who asks whether the anti-whaling people consider a whale as an intelligent animal. Just then, a fly flew over Mr. B's head and lands in front of him. With a fly swatter, Mr.B hits it. Mr.A instantly makes a joke by saying "Oh, that's cruel." Mrs. B shares her experience of raising cows and pigs, saying that they are also intelligent in that they could recognize her foot steps and started making noise, begging for food. There is a short silence among us, and Mr. A ends the discussion on cruelty toward animals:

Mr. A: The point is that they are in business, using the anti-whaling issue as their ad-balloon. That is how they earn a living.

I realize that Mr. B is putting away tea cups and cookies, and getting a bottle of whisky off the shelf behind him. It is passed five o'clock. Mrs. B makes her final remarks.

Mrs. B: We are in trouble. People in town will be happy if minke whales are caught. So will the tourists.

3) Meeting a local historian

Mr. H is a soft spoken gentleman, about seventy years of age, with an abundant knowledge of local history. He is also a self-taught whale biologist, who had worked in the fishery department in the prefectural government before his retirement and has continued enriching his knowledge on whales through his work as a director of the local whale museum. He is now serving as one of the advisers to the newly opened Whale Land.

On my first visit to the Whale Museum, I was advised to meet Mr. H for information on local history, because he is considered, by the local people, as the authority. Not having a personal connection to contact him, I had not made any effort to meet Mr. H. Now, I am visiting Whale Land for the second time. The young director of Whale Land kindly phoned Mr.H, asking him to come to Whale Land. I am sitting in the coffee shop in Whale Land, waiting while his visit to Whale Land is being arranged.

Mr. H arrives, before too long. With an introduction by the director, he sits in front of me. After a formal exchange of name cards, I start out by saying that I have been reading old newspapers to find out about the beginning of whaling history in Ayukawa.

Mr. H: Well, here, we only have a history of Norwegian-type whaling. There was some net-whaling done... I mean, in the place called Ogino-hama, now being incorporated into Ishinomaki-city, there was Kitsunesaki, where Date Masamune ordered the launching of whaling operations. That was where an attempt was made. The result was not a favourable one.

Mr. H continues on explaining the cases of attempted net-whaling in other communities in this region and concludes that these net-whaling operations were too short of funding to make them reasonably successful. Mr. H also presents his view that the locations of certain whaling bases, where net-whaling was operated, were not ideal, considering the whale migration route.

Mr. H: Migration route toward south is not known. Then, as for the north-bound route, [whales] migrate using Kinkasan as a land mark...Well, I should not say land mark in talking about whales. However, my feeling is that they migrate towards the offshore of Kinkasan, then move on North toward the Aleutian Islands and Alaska. So this area is the best. [Whales] move up until they hit the Kinkasan, well I said 'hit', but not that extreme, but they come around here to Kinkasan, then they do something [move on] toward the Aleutians. Considering their migration route, this area, I believe, is ideal. Thus, when the Norwegian whaling period began, this area prospered. The reason for that, I think, is due to their biological nature. That is the reason, I think....

Iwasaki: Well, when Norwegian whaling began, in Meiji era.

Mr. H: In later period.

Iwasaki: Yes, in the late thirties' of the Meiji era [early 1900's].

Mr. H: [Norwegian whaling] came in Meiji 39. There is a record of Tosa Whaling company who came here to operate. But we can find the record of their catch, but not the record of where the whales were flensed. So recently, this is my own theory, here in Ayukawa ... there is a place called Kamokawa, the same name as Kamokawa in Kyoto. There was someone who built a whaling station and operated... but I can not find an accurate record. Before that, Kyokuyō Whaling company across from us, Nihon Suisan at the corner in our side, and here presently Whale Land...used to be Taiyō Gyogyō.... Taiyō gyogyō came here later... Just over here, Kiyo..... Beside, in the place called Hase-hama, there was a company called Enyō Whaling company. And also, where Maruha is located, the whaling company from Tosa, called Marusan... This is a lumber company, which established a whaling section. That was a success, and expanded here and there. That whaling section of Marusan lumber company came to Ayukawa and operated...this well, as one of the remains... there is a shrine behind us. In that shrine, the amount of cash offered is recorded. There are also one, two, three of that... The amount offered when the roof was repaired, and the amount offered when a sacred palanquin was repaired. And, when the sacred arch, the stone arch was built, and the stone monument...and other things.

The coffee shop remains quiet, with no other guests but us sitting. The only other person in the coffee shop is the waitress behind the counter. I am overwhelmed by the details of knowledge that Mr. H demonstrates in his explanation about the origin of modern whaling in Ayukawa. His account of the biology of whale migration is also an eye-opener for me. I pose a question regarding the use of whale meat and blubber in the early times.

Iwasaki: When whaling companies were established here, how was whale utilized? Well, for human food? or.....
Mr. H: For human food.
Iwasaki: Oh, is that right.
Mr. H: For human food... in any case, since the old days, in Japan, it is told that a catch of one whale enriches seven hama-communities. As it is said here, it would not have been so enriching if only meat was utilized. Blubber was used to produce oil, meat for food... see. Bone as well, once bone...after [oil] taken, was cut up into small pieces and was cooked again to take oil... the left over were made into fertilizer. Also, oil, in some area, according to the old archive, was used for

> human food. The other use was for stove oil. Well, further... that, stove oil. Another use was for *jyokōroku*, according to the old archive. "*jyo*" is to illuminate and "*kō*" is locust. As "*jyokōroku*", according to this, whale oil was used to get rid of locust. That is, it was not used as it is, but mixed with vinegar,... vinegar, ... vinegar to increase the effect. Thus, it is recorded that the farmers around whaling stations, using that [insecticide], had a good harvest without damage by the locusts.

The consistent use of the word "*hama*" is noticeable in Mr. H's talk, indicating the local people's notion of community unit. The fact that whales were totally used to benefit people with a variety of uses is one of the first things that the local people ordinarily mention with regards to the use of the whale resource. This description does not necessarily reflect the present situation, as in most cases, the main use of whale has been, in recent years, for human consumption as whale meat.

Mr. H maintains a calm and gentle manner in talking with me. Our meeting continues uninterrupted. Although we both occasionally have a sip, most of the coffee is sitting cold. It seems as if he maintains his eyes focused in the past, while he is talking. I mean, his eyes are fixed somewhere around me, and only very occasionally, I am able to catch his eyes.

I explore a question regarding the first whaling operation carried out by the local people, who had a special interest in sperm whale to produce fertilizer, according to the newspaper I had read.

Iwasaki: Well, in the newspaper I was reading yesterday, Ayukawa Hogei, a group of the local people got together... there, they started with permission to catch sperm whales.

Mr. H: That is true at the beginning. That, mileage, distance was limited, then, that was, let's see, 50 miles... it was permission allowing them to catch sperm whales offshore. That... not allowed others. After sperm whales, then baleen whales were permitted, as well.

Iwasaki: This period when they were catching only sperm whales, was oil the main [production]? Sperm whale meat...

Mr. H: Well, by looking at it, it is black... We had sperm whale salted and dried, rather then as *sashimi*. Well, baleen whales are eaten as *sashimi*... even now... In case of sperm whale, it is salted.. What I mean by salted is that at ordinary homes, it is salted for one or two days then dried it... We used to eat it after grilling it. When we were little, in an elementary school, we looked forward to taking it in our lunch as an accompaniment for rice.

Iwasaki: Is that right?

Mr. H: Yes, it was delicious. But we did not have, like you do now, the aluminum, or what shall I say, plastic lunch box. We had aluminum, but did not have anything to put accompaniment [meat, fish and vegetable] in, so we put it directly on top of rice. The salty taste [of whale] give flavour to rice, making it specially good...hahaha...I looked forward to that [lunch] very much.

Iwasaki: Those salted whale and sashimi...when reading the newspaper, it is said that it was how it [whale] had been eaten since Meiji period. It means that cooking whale has been consistent, doesn't it?

Mr. H: .....Well, the local people, like us, like dishes from Meiji period... Other than the salted whale meat, the recent dishes are Sukiyaki and curry and rice... these modern, or western ... such...others would be [whale] cooked in miso paste or [whale] marinated in miso paste and grilled... for a long time in Meiji period... then, when you read the old cook books... there are many [whale dishes] with vinegar sauce..That is one. Then, well... what shall I say? I don't know the dish, well...*sarashi kujira* (sliced whale fluke). What is now popular... it is now popular, but it has been around since long time ago. You put meat in boiling water...[Iwasaki said "*Shabushabu*".].. *Shabushabu* (thinly sliced meat, slightly cooked in boiling water). Something like that has been done since long time ago. "*Shabushabu*", it was not called "*shabushabu*", but something like "*Yudōshi*", I think?

The extent of the knowledge that Mr. H has regarding whale cuisine covered far more material than I can possibly present in this section. Our discussion on whale dishes continues for another half an hour or so; mainly I am asking questions on the information that I had acquired from library research. The topic of discussion, then, shifts to crafts using parts of whale, which is a local speciality of Ayukawa-hama.

Iwasaki: ...Well, sperm whale teeth...well, I bought this ring here...this craft making began a lot later, didn't it?

Mr. H: A lot later. When it [craft] came, likewise, well, it might have been the beginning of the Shōwa area [around 1930]. Mostly, they are craft makers from places around Nagasaki. Even now, their descendants are in the business ...and one shop is run by the second generation son whose grandfather was the craft maker.
[In response to the further question on craft that Iwasaki asked him, Mr. H answered.]
Mostly, the craft makers here are, from the Nagasaki area. The tortoiseshell craft, the tortoiseshell craft makers came and began whale-tooth craft. The tortoiseshell craft makers, if you trace the root [of whale teeth craft]. It is likely that the tortoiseshell craft makers were the ones who came here and started it, I think..... it seems that, when I ask the second generation [craft makers] "where do their parents come from?" and "where is your ancestors' home?"... they say Nagasaki... so, well, of course, they have a history of net-whaling over there, and the history of whaling is long. However, well, it seems that there is no record indicating that they were making these sperm whale teeth craft, like rings, pendants, or ear rings... so the truth seems to be that the tortoiseshell craft makers came here and started it. But, it is not so certain.

The corner of the coffee shop where we have been sitting has been a comfortable spot, which is unlike anywhere else in Ayukawa-hama. The atmosphere is such that I feel as if I am sitting in the lobby of one of the nice hotels in downtown Sapporo or even Tokyo. The building itself noticeably stands out from the rest of the buildings in Ayukawa-hama. The rather shabby appearance of the most other buildings makes a clear contrast to the newly built modern architecture. The view from the window of the coffee shop is especially strange, as I am sitting facing the back of the renovated restaurants and shops which show the remains of the old factories.

Mr. H and I had been talking about the whale and whaling museum that have been built in Ayukawa-hama since the beginning of the Shōwa era.

Iwasaki: Last summer when I visited here, I had a chance to see the other museum. That museum was mainly showing the history of whaling in Ayukawa, wasn't it?

Mr. H: Well, that's part of it. My intention was to promote understanding of whaling as a whole. That was my idea. I wanted to present, not just whaling in Ayukawa, but nation-wide. That was what I intended.....To tell the truth, when I did that [became an adviser to this museum], I did not get involved much, or not at all. But at the end when they did not know what to do, I was consulted....

Having been a director for the past whale and whaling museums in Ayukawa-hama, Mr. H's face lightens up when I start talking about them. He is extremely proud of the museums that he had been involved with in the past. However, he does not seem as proud when he talks about his involvement with this new museum for reasons I do not know.

The discussion shifts to the origin of STCW in Ayukawa-hama. The origin of STCW is well documented in various archives. Mr. H's explanation is quite similar to what I have been reading. I am more interested in hearing Mr. H's view on whale and whaling museums and so bring back our discussion to the issue. Mr. H has been involved in the past three whale and whaling museums as an administrator.

Mr. H: To decide the content of museum...I was involved from the beginning. It was all my idea. First. I divided the building into three sections; history, industry and biology. It was 100% my idea. The biggest problem I had was that there was not enough material on history. That was the hardest. Then, industry... as for biology, I had no problem because many whales were being caught that time. It was only the material on history that I had problems with.

Mr. H: [In response to Iwasaki's question on whether or not he was involved in planning of the Whale Land] No, what can I say. I did not want to be supervised, at first. I was asked to attend the first [planning] meeting.....I left that meeting, and after that...they held meetings for five, six, ten times, but not even once, I have not been, except for the first one.

For the first time, the tone of Mr. H's voice changes when he starts to talk about his association with Whale Land and his experience at the planning meeting. I feel uneasy because of a change in the atmosphere and I have a big sip of coffee to detach myself from the engagement in discussion. Mr. H continues on with telling me about other unpleasant incidents relating to his connection with Whale Land. His criticism is focused on the approach that the expert museum planners took in developing basic concepts and exhibitions of Whale Land. I ask Mr. H about the movies that are shown in Whale Land.

Mr. H: Again... the content .... that is also what the planners did... The content is not, the visitors ....It is just like watching T.V., isn't it? In order to increase an understanding of the growth of whales themselves...We have a film with whales in...

One group walk into the coffee shop as we are discussing the movies shown at Whale Land. Mr. H's comments continue to be negative. His tone of voice remains harsh. After presenting his view on the movies, he starts to talk about various rituals and monuments relating to whales. His expression turns mild and he is talking like he was earlier. I ask the final question.

Iwasaki: After the long discussion, I have one last question to ask you. When whaling is about to end, how is your present feeling about it?

Mr. H: I, not clearly.....catch whatever they can... this may be an exaggeration...don't you think. That is bad. So we should increase the [whale] stock more and more... only if people think of sustaining [the resource] by catching not some 10% but some%...

Iwasaki: Manage the resource... utilization comes after that, doesn't it?

Mr. H: ...some say that the stock is increasing... they are harvesting whale in the middle of their migration...I believe that this is the most important understanding...

Iwasaki: Mr.H, are you eating your share of antarctic minke whale?

Mr. H: I have been.

Iwasaki: Oh, is that right?

Mr. H: But comparing [whale meat] from the Antarctic and here, the antarctic one is not tasty.

Iwasaki: Oh, I see. When you eat it now, do you eat it as *sashimi*?

Mr. H: ...[whale] is too precious to salt it. My children... when tuna, minke whale, then other, let's say three other kind are served, and I watch them, the first thing that their hand reach is whale. Hahaha...it is delicious, honestly. *Ōtoro* (marbled flesh of tuna) tend to be greasy and sticks in the mouth, but whale *onomi* (marbled meat near fluke) melts in the mouth...that is the feeling. So *onomi* is delicious.

Iwasaki: It would be nice if we could eat it even a small portion. [Laughter]

Mr. H: As I said earlier, minke whale from over there [the Antarctic] is not tasty. It does not have mildness, so it tastes flat.

We are both exhausted after a lengthy discussion. I thank Mr. H for coming to talk to me. Mr. H politely offers more help when I need it. We both greet the director of the museum and walk out of Whale Land together. Mr. H continues with an explanation as we walk down the street, while I am taking pictures of the renovated processing factories, presently standing there as souvenir shops and restaurants.

4) Meeting a retired whaler and his wife

Mr. C's house is located in the hilly part of Ayukawa. Narrow streets run irregularly between the clusters of small and old houses. This area is mainly a residential area, with corner stores here and there, which gives an even stronger feeling of antiquity.

I have met Mr. C at the party earlier and I had a good impression of him, being articulate and willing to share his knowledge on the history of this town and whaling with me. I have read some of his writings about the history of whaling in Ayukawa, in which he offered his insight as one of the whalers involved in the historical development of Ayukawa whaling. When I open the door to his house and introduce myself to notify my arrival, Mr.C welcomes me into his *chanoma*, where he and his wife are sitting comfortably.

I am offered a cushion which signals that I am invited in and that it is where I was supposed to sit. With a small table between us, Mr. C and I sit across from each other. Mrs. C sits at the end of the table, serving us green tea. While I am asking for permission to use a tape recorder, Mrs. C offers me some sweet to have with green tea. Mr. C has experiences of both STCW and antarctic whaling, and has been reading attentively about the development of the whaling issue at the IWC. Before I start asking him questions, he explains what motivated him to write the short paper on the present state of whaling issue that I was given at the party.

Mr. C: ...A little hope is arising, I thought. I was happy...and I wrote about the situation here, and the operation as described ...

In response to my comment about the present situation of Ayukawa-hama under the moratorium, Mr. C explains how whaling had gradually deteriorated since the mid 70's until the total ban of commercial whaling caused the out-migration of 500 people. Mr. C regrets that the major part of whaling operations has ceased.

Mr. C: After all, if whaling is going on, we eat whale meat abundantly here. [Mrs.C laughs and enthusiastically agrees with her husband.] So minke whale... we have only minke whaling, minke whale..... this is not a big deal... flensers..boat crews, altogether 12 to 13 people. However, when we cannot buy whale, when we have guests here, [Ayukawa became] a sightseeing spot, now. Because we cannot make a living with whaling, so we try to do with tourism...Oh, people come here with an assumption that they can eat whale meat if they come to Oshika. If we don't have that, then [the inns here] will be the same as ordinary inns. And the people do not stop over here and go on to Ishinomaki and stay there. So, that is the drawback. Yes. So if we have whaling, occasionally, the tourists on their way back from Kinkasan, if [a whale] is brought in by boat and being flensed, a crowd gathers to watch it. Oh, this is [whaling]... Then this will be served as *sashimi* for supper at the inns... then, people will decide not to go to other places, but stay here. Well, if people stay at the inns, the whole town will benefit. In this area, there has been a loss.

Iwasaki: At home, has the menu changed after whale meat is gone?

Mr. C: That, fortunately, now, the antarctic minke whale is distributed, and the ordinary households receive their share. 4 kg, is it? In case of those restaurants, the share is a little bigger for business purpose... they serve small portions to some special guests... With this kind of effort, [whale cuisine] has remained.

Mr. C has a strong local accent, which sometimes makes it difficult for me to understand him. However, because of his enthusiasm in sharing his view, talking with him is not strenuous. The room we are sitting in is quiet, without any interruption such as phone calls or visits. There is no noise from the street, either.

Mr. C describes how much the people from Taiji, Nagasaki and Gotō like whale meat, from his observations at meal times during the antarctic whaling expeditions that he took part in. His description of the way they ate pilot whale *sashimi* is very vivid. While Mr. C is talking, Mrs. C goes into kitchen and brings a bowl of cooked pilot whale meat and offers me a taste.

Mrs. C: I think this is pilot whale, someone brought it to us. This is another way of eating it [pilot whale].

Iwasaki: Has [the whale meat] been stewed like you do with *tsukudani* (meat and fish cooked in thick sauce until the sauce evaporates)?

Mrs. C: Yes, it has been stewed.

While Mrs. C makes more tea for me, I take pictures of the bowl of cooked whale meat. After several pictures, I sit again and have bites of whale.

Iwasaki: Do you eat whale like this [like I am doing], as an accompaniment for tea, or snack?

Mrs. C: Yes, often, around here.

Iwasaki: Was this cooked with ginger, soy sauce and *saki*?

Mrs. C: *Saki* and cooking wine. You have to stew it for a long time, otherwise the flavour does not cook through.

Iwasaki: Was this cooked here?

Mrs. C: Yes, home made.

Mr. C: This is pilot whale, or Baird's beaked whale. They are the type of whale that we did not eat as *sashimi*. Sperm whale... However, it was baleen whale that we ate as *sashimi*... so whales such as sperm whale were mainly done this way....it preserves well.

Mrs. C: Other way...you can marinate it. If you marinate it in miso paste, the meat gets tender.

Iwasaki: Then do you grill it on frying pan? or grilling net?

Mrs. C: It is good when you cook on a grilling net, or cook it in oil in a frying pan. It depends on the preference. The end pieces cannot be wasted. It does not have bone, and no part is waste. So we do this and preserve it.

Mrs. C briefly joins our discussion every once in a while. She does not appear comfortable in speaking with us, but willingly offered answers to the questions I asked. Her answers are all short, and her voice is soft and has a shy tone, in contrast to Mr. C who speaks with a clear voice and confident tone.

Mr. C has a rather assertive manner in his speech. When he starts to touch upon the issue relating to the whale resource depletion, his manner becomes even more assertive and aggressive at times.

Mr. C: ...Well, of course, a whale reproduces only one calf every year. And when you catch adults [whales] one after the other, it is natural that the resource becomes depleted. They [whales] are not infinite. So the approach that the advanced nations took was a good one, I think. See....So in

> the present whaling, international issue, I think this is a good thing...why didn't they [the advanced nations] do this earlier...However, [it is a problem] when such a big shock comes down.

The big shock that Mr. C refers to is the zero-catch quota for commercial whaling. As he speaks his final sentence, Mrs. C smiles, nodding. Although Mrs. C's oral participation in the discussion is not frequent, her involvement in the form of non-verbal expression is quite frequent. She seems to express herself only when she agrees with her husband. Having first-hand experience of whaling, Mr. C looks quite confident in expressing his points of view.

Mr. C further continues expressing his view on the need for resumption of whaling in Ayukawa-hama. His emphasis is on the economic benefit, which in his view, will eventually ensure the survival of the community.

Mr. C: ...we don't have anything here, now, when whaling is taken away, no other industry. So the people left one after the other, and depopulation....now, when you see the people, you see only old people in every direction you look. There won't be any young people left...So this is the time...if we are allowed some [whales]...that will be eye-catching to attract tourists...that is why our mayor is working hard at this.

> So to do that, as a pre-requisite to issuing permission, strict control should be in place. If the operators violate it, then the permission will be taken away. The operators themselves will restrict themselves. Then, the quota can be just enough to maintain their business.

The vision that Mr. C presents regarding the future of whaling in Ayukawa-hama was interesting. Mrs.C sits at the end of the table, quietly.

Mr. C continues explaining to me the technological advancement of STCW. He had worked on all three form of whaling: LTCW, Antarctic whaling and STCW. His last career before his retirement was in STCW, which he extensively discussed, in terms of technological improvement. Our discussion is coming to an end when I asks the final question regarding the Whale Land.

Mr. C: I...go there frequently.

Iwasaki: Oh. yes. Did you see the movies? Two movies.

Mr. C: Wasn't a movie on whaling on?

Iwasaki: It was not on.

Mr. C: I went and saw thoroughly, but that cartoon is not made for us.

Iwasaki: The content [of the movie] is hard to understand.

Mr. C: That [movie of] whaling, taken in Antarctic, this movie is available...I told the director to do it [organize the movie]. Mr.B also has one, although in 16 mm movie, that can be used...that is spectacular....oh,they are still running the funny cartoon like one...

Mrs. C: It may be popular among the children, the cartoon?

Iwasaki: But it is difficult for children,... that cartoon.

Mr. C: American cartoon, that is.

Iwasaki: At the end, Ayukawa appears. Well, the Beatles appear, and it is difficult. So I wonder whom it was made for. It is too childish for the adults to see, but is too difficult for children.

Mr. C: That [whale Land] has just been completed. [People] go there once, but won't go back.

Iwasaki: The local people?

Mrs. C: The people around here.

Mr. C: It is the same with the tourists. I talked with the mayor, and there is a lot of space left. With this tank, they can have a mini aquarium of something....we catch here, such as sea urchin to sea cucumber, or abalone, or small fish that they catch with net...if they keep them alive, we can put them in.....Since the opening of Whale Land, many people visited there. They must find it unique, or what. All the parking lots, free or paid are packed....So they must have made more than they originally anticipated. Now, ...with use of cars.

I had a special interest in finding out about the local people's feeling about the newly opened Whale Land. The conversation is carried on and we engage in talking about the recent trend of leisure. Feeling a little exhausted myself, I thank them for spending time with me and left their house. Mr. and Mrs. C kindly invite me back the next day.

Chapter 7. Interactional Analysis: IWC where decisions are made.

The 43rd annual meeting of the IWC was held in Reykjavik, Iceland from May 27 to May 31, 1991. Prior to that week, there were a series of working group meetings and sub-committee meetings held at the same site.

Because of the size of the meeting as well as the security requirement, the hotel where the meetings were held was occupied only by IWC-related people. Throughout the two weeks, the participants interacted with the same group of people in the meetings, in the hall ways, in the dining rooms, etc.

The decisions of the IWC on various issues are discussed and made during the plenary session. However, the debate in the working group involving a smaller number of participants is crucial because it becomes the basis for the further debate in the plenary session. The production of a report, which summarizes the debate in the working group, is of a special importance, because it is the report of the working group that will be read by the Commissioners who will be making decisions in the plenary session. Before the plenary session, the recommendation that was agreed upon in the working group is discussed in the Technical Committee where all the Commissioners are present. The conclusions and recommendations that were made in the Technical Committee, then, will be passed on to the Plenary meeting, where the final decision is made after the discussion among the Commissioners.

Since 1988 when the researcher attended the 40th annual meeting of the IWC for the first time, interactions in each year's meetings have been recorded and analyzed. The 43rd meeting is the most useful for the purpose of this thesis because this is the year when the back-stage negotiation was openly discussed during the plenary meeting and also because the result of the 43rd meeting of the IWC became the basis of

Iceland to withdraw from the IWC in the following year.

An interaction in each of three types of meeting of the 43rd IWC Annual meeting will be summarized: 1) Working Group meeting, 2) Technical Committee meeting and 3) the Plenary meeting.

A. Technical Committee Working Group on Socio-economic Implications of Zero-catch Limit and Consideration of Various Types of Small-type Whaling

Saturday 25, May 1991. The working group meeting is to be held in the morning for a half a day[34]. Since Japan has been the key country to generate the discussion on the STCW issue, the members of the Japanese delegation have been most active in this working group. We were the first to appear in the meeting room and began to assign ourselves seats at the desk just in front of the chairperson's desk. A significant proportion of the Japanese delegation requires simultaneous translation assistance, which is provided through a portable radio. Such a practical consideration, along with a silent agreement on the hierarchical seating order among the members of the Japanese delegation, determines the over-all seating arrangement for each member of the Japanese delegation. We are told that a chairperson for this working group meeting has not been chosen. As most members of Japanese delegation sit waiting, there is a tense air and worried look. The Secretary of the IWC comes into the meeting room, only to announce that the meeting will resume after a chairperson is appointed. About half an hour later, the newly appointed chairperson restarts the meeting.

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[34] This was a significant change from the previous two years when two full days were allocated to this working group. In the year when the working group for small-type whaling was established and met for the first time in 1989 in San Diego, the discussion lasted for one and a half day. At the meeting the following year in the Netherlands, the debate on small-type whaling lasted the two full days allocated by the IWC Secretariat.

The room is still half-full, with substantially lower attendance compared to the meeting last year. As the chairperson proceeds with the agenda items, a rapporteur is appointed. The chairperson further proceeds with admission of observers, terms of reference for the working group, available documents and adoption of the agenda. Interaction in the working group has been extremely low, in that the chairperson has been engaged in an active oral presentation concerning non-controversial matters, while the participants of the meeting play a passive role as the audience.

Under agenda item 7, submissions, the senior member of the Japanese delegation speaks through an interpreter. His clear, rather aggressive tone of voice is emphasized by the use of a microphone. Furthermore, his interpreter recreates the manner of his talk in her translation with her skilful use of language and control of her voice. They are so harmonious to the point that the sex difference almost ceases to exist.

A well-prepared official position is presented, which increases the degree of tension slightly. The content of the statement by the senior member of the Japanese delegation is negative, in that he expresses his dissatisfaction with the lack of understanding in the IWC of the social and cultural importance of STCW, and he points out the possible consequent distrust in the Commission. Although his message is not new to most of the participants, it plays an important role as a visible measure of the degree of commitment to the issue of STCW by the government of Japan. The opening statement by Japan is passively received by the audience.

The mayor of Oshika-chō gives his prepared speech which describes the hardship that the people in his town are experiencing as a result of the moratorium. His speech is interpreted by a young male interpreter whose manner and quality of voice is gentler that the mayor.

Regarding certain parts of the statement made by the mayor, the chairperson points out that the discussion of an interim quota is outside of the terms of reference of this working group meeting. The precise ruling by the chairperson demonstrates a sufficient degree of controlling power that he exercises over the meeting.

Following the mayor's presentation, one of the STCW operators introduces a document concerning the impact of the moratorium. The same male interpreter translates his Japanese speech into English. The slight British accent mixed with the Japanese accent makes his interpretation sound mild and gentle, creating a non-confrontational atmosphere. The STCW operator, having presented a document in the previous year's working group meeting, seems confident in his delivery and reads the prepared paper looking down.

The STCW operator gives the detailed accounts of the impact of the moratorium on individual whalers and the community as a whole. He stresses that the job losses, the reduced attraction of the town as a tourist destination and the consequent out-migration of the people undermines the local people's confidence in the future of their community. The passive-active contrast between the document presenters and the listeners continues and the intensity of interaction remains low.

The chairperson thanks Japan for the presentation and invites comments and questions from the floor. The first question is raised by a member of the New Zealand delegation who has been in the last two years an active participant in this working group discussion. She raises two questions. Her first question concerns a connection between the ban of minke whaling and the possible increase in the catch of Baird's beaked whale and pilot whales. The real agenda behind this question is more than acquiring the answer. One of the purposes of the question is to make a point that the lack of minke whale meat is sufficiently supplemented by the available Baird's beaked whale and pilot whale meat and that the problem can be solved without any resumption of minke whaling. Another intention behind the recurring questioning is an attempt to establish a connection between the banning of minke whaling and the increased Baird's beaked whale and pilot whale harvest. Such a connection could then be used as an argument to justify expanding the IWC's management competence to cover small cetaceans, which are possibly affected by the IWC's decision. Such two or three-sided questions are typically found in an interaction in the working group meeting.

The second question that she asks concerns the other factors, beside the loss of whaling, which contributes to the decline of population in the STCW community. An attempt to shift the focus of the argument to non-whaling causes may accomplish two things: 1) it allows the questioner to make a point about an insufficient causal linkage between the loss of whaling and the population decline, if the other data are not available, and 2) it allows the possibility of arguing that the ban on minke whaling has little effect on local conditions, if the data are available.

After the question raised by the New Zealand participant, there is a pause in the interaction, while the Japanese participants try to understand the question through interpretation. Although employing simultaneous translation, precise understanding of the question requires supplemental explanation in Japanese as to what has exactly been asked. In the back stage, the members of Japanese delegation gather their heads together, whispering to each other what they understood to be the question. Among the members of the Japanese delegation, those who have sufficient understanding of English tell others what they understood to be the question. There is a slight tension among the Japanese delegation, while this supplemental explanation is given. After the question is understood, there is another moment when they decide who presents the answer. This process becomes more efficient as they answer more questions. However, for the first question, there is an increase of tension among the members of the Japanese delegation during this process.

One member of the Japanese delegation, who is a STCW operator, begins his deliberation, presenting the catch record of both Baird's beaked and pilot whales since the moratorium became effective. Realizing that the catch record does not itself explain whether or not Baird's beaked and pilot whale meat actually substitutes for minke whale meat, I raise my hand to catch the chairperson's attention for my turn to add a point about locally diversified whale cuisine. My answer stresses the cultural factor, involved in whale cuisine, in that there exists regional diversity in whale cuisine, with certain types of whale traditionally prepared in certain ways in a given region. Thus, it is of cultural and historical importance to have the proper kind of whale meat cooked, so that a substitution of minke whale meat with Baird's beaked meat is not a culturally acceptable option.

In response to the second question, I indicate the unique nature of the population decline in one STCW community which shows an extremely drastic drop, in comparison to certain other cases, where a gradual decrease of population is typically found. The mayor of the community adds another point: it is not only a simple decrease of population, but also the out-migration of laid-off whalers and their families that causes the structural changes in the local economy due to loosing the group who provide the main labour force. Both I and the mayor do not touch on any other causes of the population decline, as asked by the New Zealand participant. By the time our answers were given, the intensity of interaction has increased. Although the first exchange of question and answer may appear non-confrontational, the intention behind the questions fully suggests that she is not about to accept our argument. Rather, she is laying the foundation to lead to a negative conclusion.

The Australian participant reiterates the same point, as raised by the New Zealand participant, asking whether or not the general decline of coastal fishery is related to the population decline. This question prompted one very important point about the nature of the local fishery in Ayukawa. The

STCW operator responds that 80% of the local industry was supported by whaling and that the portion of population decline related to other coastal fisheries is small.

So far, the atmosphere in the room is not overly tense. There is neither overt confrontation, nor consensus in our exchange. Although I am feeling personally tense because of the consistent negative attitude demonstrated by the New Zealand and Australian participants, the over-all tension and the intensity of interaction have been fairly low.

The first confrontation breaks out when the Netherlands participant, makes a statement saying that this is a plea for lifting of the moratorium, rather than a plea to establish a separate category of whaling. The senior member of the Japanese delegation promptly responds, in his usual firm manner, that what we have been addressing is the findings by international social scientists which describes STCW as a type of whaling situated between commercial and aboriginal forms of whaling. Japan has therefore been asking for special consideration on this basis. The Netherlands participant responds by restating his government's position that it recognises no valid distinction between this (STCW) and other forms of commercial whaling. The degree of tension rises rapidly as these two opposing views are made explicit. This contrasting view on the nature of STCW has been consistent, without much modification, since the working group on STW first met in 1989. The position stated by the representative is similar to the position taken by the majority of the IWC membership and the exchange between the senior member of the Japanese delegation and the senior member of the Netherlands delegation indicates continuing deadlock.

The chairperson then calls on Japan for the next presentation, as I am getting ready for my presentation using an overhead slide projector. I have prepared a script for my presentation, so that an accurate summary can be included in the final report. The content of my paper and presentation was to respond to the question from the previous year's discussion why and how the use of whale meat in everyday meals has cultural significance.

After summarizing the first paper (Japan 1991a), I give a summary of another paper (Japan 1991d) which introduces the result of a survey on how different age groups in Ayukawa express preference for eating whale meat. Both presentations are given in English in female voice, which I consider quite clear.

The audience, having passively listen to my presentation, is asked for questions and comments by the chairperson. The UK participant and the New Zealand participant who have asked questions earlier raise their hands. The UK participant makes a few statements in which he restates his conclusion about JSTCW not being different from other forms of commercial whaling. He also repeats his observation from the last years discussion that the bulk of whale meat goes out of the whaling community.

The New Zealand participant starts out by saying that it is very interesting to read these papers. This is a usual opening ritual that most participants conduct at the beginning of each intervention. The typical opening ritual involves a positive introductory statement about unsubstantial matters, which then lead to the negative argument on a substantial matter. The New Zealand participant further continues, referring to the case in New Zealand, that the conflict between traditional use of species and conservation needs was solved by a gradual change of food preference. There is then, a quick change of tension in the atmosphere in the room when the senior member of the Japanese delegation firmly responds to her by saying that in the case of Japanese STCW, we are not talking about an irreversible depletion of resources.

The substance of the exchange between the Japanese participants, the UK participants and the New Zealand participants are a repetition of the discussion which took place in the previous year. The underlying message that is coming across is that the anti-whaling countries have not changed their position opposing recognition of a separate administrative category for JSTCW. This position has been consistent ever since this issue first came forward in 1988.

The list of documents regarding JSTCW which has been tabled at the IWC as official papers is introduced to show the depth and scope of research that has been conducted by the government of Japan. The USA participant requests that new information on the proportion of certain grades of meat not consumed locally but sold in more distant markets be provided as requested in last year's Working Group. Requesting more information and more research is a commonly used stalling tactic within the working group as well as other areas of the Commission's business. Japan has been responding to these continuous requests, and doing much more.

Following the Japanese presentation, the Icelandic delegation makes its presentation on the impact of the moratorium. A whaler representing the Icelandic small-type whalers gives a speech, interpreted by another member of the Icelandic delegation. The speech is received in silence with the exception of the senior member of the Japanese delegation who responds positively, expressing his understanding and sympathy towards the Icelandic situation.

The working group discussion has come to the final stage under agenda item 9 where the group is to give consideration to the situation of various kinds of small-type whaling. It has become apparent that the Working Group would not likely reach a consensus concerning the establishment of a separate category for STCW.

The senior member of the Japanese delegation repeats the request for special consideration for JSTCW and the reasoning behind it. A brief but precise statement is delivered through his interpreter. There followed diverse opinions expressing each government's official position on this issue. Denmark's position is delivered by the senior member of the delegation who proposes an ad hoc solution to allow limited whaling activities for JSTCW. This is an apparent shift of position since the previous year. The UK, New Zealand and the USA have all expressed their position that JSTCW is commercial in nature and that they cannot consider a separate category, nor an interim quota.

Before the closure of the discussion, I ask to speak so that I could respond to the statement made by the UK participant, who had made the same statement in the previous year's meeting. I express my frustration at being repeatedly ignored or my points conveniently forgotten by saying that "These are the same questions raised by the same person last year. I feel awkward in repeating the same answer this year again. However, the answer has not changed." Then I read the paragraph from the last year's report of this working group.

Following my statement, the senior member of the St.Vincent and the Grenadine delegation states his view in support of Denmark's position. The chairperson concludes that there does not appear to be consensus for an establishment of a new category for STCW.

The working group meeting finished before lunch. We were able to supply a summary of our presentation to the rapporteur so that the accurate description of the presentation would be recorded. The rest of the process leading up to the adoption of the report was smooth compared to the previous two years when various manipulations of documents and drafting were attempted.

B. IWC 43rd Annual Meeting (1991); plenary session and Technical Committee meeting

1) Monday: The fist session of the Plenary meeting

After one week of working group meetings and sub-committee meetings, the plenary session opened. The meeting was held in a rather small room, compared with the rooms used in the past annual meetings. Six pillars which stand in the centre of the room prevented an uninterrupted view of the room, limiting the extent of interaction during the meeting. It may be more accurate to say that eye-to-eye contacts between speakers, except with a chairperson who sits on the podium, is generally impossible. Official government delegations are seated in alphabetical order. However, for security reasons, the Japanese delegation has been seated in the area furthest away from the entrance to the meeting room. Behind the government delegations, non-member government delegations and the inter-governmental organization representatives are seated.

The accredited NGO participants are seated at one end of the room opposite from the main entrance to the room. However, there is a back-door behind the area where NGOs are seated. This door opens into a hall leading to the kitchen and back to the main entrance. This path allows traffic in and out of the room during the meeting without having to walk across the room.

Three sides of the room have large-size windows, providing sun-shine and heat to the room, which made the room uncomfortably hot during the meeting. There is a lounge just outside of the meeting room. All participants are asked to show their identity card when passing from this lounge to the meeting room, thus prohibiting the entrance of anyone without proper credentials. Media personnel are excluded from this area.

Throughout the meeting, speakers are asked to hold up their country name plate to indicate their wish to make an intervention and to use the microphone in front of them when speaking. The plenary session is tape recorded, then later transcribed to provide a verbatim record. The media has auditory access to the meeting through a speaker which is installed in the media room. The media have been allowed into the meeting room for a short time on the first morning of the plenary meeting, after which time they are excluded from entering the meeting.

The meeting began on time at 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 27th of May. Unlike previous IWC meetings, there is no anti-whaling protest outside of the building where the meeting is held. Although I encounter one local anti-whaling NGO attending the meeting, there seems to be very little organized protest against whaling in Iceland, which was involved in commercial whaling until 1985.

As all the participants are seated, the chairperson declares open the 43rd Annual Meeting of the International Whaling Commission. Camera crews and reporters have their equipment set up, filming and taking photos of the participants. From where I sat in the back row of the Japanese delegation, I can see various camera crews taking close-up shots of the members of our delegation. The atmosphere in the room is tense, as everyone posing for the cameras looks serious as is expected on such occasions.

The message delivered as the opening statement by the Minister of Fisheries in the Icelandic Government is very strong and threatening, in that he urges the IWC to rededicate itself to the organization's original purpose, namely the conservation and rational utilization of the whale stocks. In the previous years when the IWC annual meeting were held in anti-whaling countries such as New Zealand (1988), the USA (1989) and the Netherlands (1990), the opening messages stressed the over-riding strong conservation needs in the management of whale stocks. Thus, the beginning tone of the 1991 meeting is surely distinct. The end of the opening speech is followed by audience applause. The chairperson thanks the Icelandic government representative and adjourned the meeting for a short while whilst he escorts him from the meeting. On his return to the podium, the chairperson resumes the meeting, at which time the IWC Secretary who sits next to the chairperson, explain the various arrangement for the meeting. The government delegations are passively participating in the meeting by listening to information concerning the logistics of the meeting. The first coffee break was then announced by the chairperson.

Interaction among the people during the coffee break is relaxed. All the media personnel are expected to leave the meeting room at this time. I can see numbers of people staying in their seats, without leaving the meeting room to go for refreshment. The next session resumes. Under the agenda item 5, Appointment of Scientific Committee, each government signifies whether it intends to participate in the meetings of the Scientific Committee during the coming year. This agenda item allows the Icelandic delegation its first opportunity to refer to his country's future participation in the Scientific Committee. In the past Icelandic participation in the Scientific work of the IWC has been very pronounced. The senior member of the Icelandic delegation states:

> I understand that it is possible to make this declaration some time before the end of this week and if that is the case I prefer to defer declaring our membership until that time (Verbatim record 1991:5)

As most of the participants are aware of the possible withdrawal of Iceland from IWC, this statement comes out as a clear confirmation of that possibility. The degree of tension rose rapidly as this statement was made, setting a conflicting tone for the meeting.

2) Monday: The first session of Technical Committee meeting

After these procedural matters are concluded, the chairperson calls upon the chairperson of the Technical Committee to convene the Technical Committee meeting. Ten agenda items are covered in the Technical Committee meeting, which lasts about a day and a half. Some agenda items involve rather straightforward reports delivered by the chairs of various committees, sub-committees or working groups that had met earlier. Other agenda items, on the other hand, generate active discussion with varied degrees of tension.

One such contentious discussion occurs with Agenda item 9: The Commission's competence to set catch limits for Baird's beaked whale in the North Pacific, which is an on-going controversial item. A senior member of the USA delegation is the first to ask for the floor. As has been the government position in the past, he proposes that the scope of this agenda item should be broadened to cover all the cetaceans subject to commercial whaling. Japan responds negatively by stating their government position that the IWC's competence is limited to those species of whales actually named in the list of nomenclature attached to the Convention. The Japanese position was supported by Norway, who further stated that regional, rather than global, approaches to managing small cetaceans are more appropriate. Denmark stated its position that the Convention does not give rights to the Commission to manage small cetaceans. New Zealand opposes Japan, Norway and Denmark's position and states that in their view there is no ambiguity in regard to the Commission's competence to manage all whale species (and not just those named in the nomenclature list).

This exchange of government positions is carried out in a low degree of tension, because these positions are understood and have been repeated on various past occasions. The tone of voice of each deliberation is controlled with the least degree of emotional content. The actors are playing their designated roles as government representatives on the front stage, which is set up partly for the audience sitting in the NGO section in the meeting room.

The exchange that the USA initiated prompted others to join in the front-stage play. A senior member of the Netherlands delegation supports the position of the USA, then New Zealand, Sweden, Australia, Germany, the UK, Switzerland, Brazil, Seychelles, Finland, Oman, France, and Ireland all express their view in support of the USA position, while the Japanese, Danish and Norwegian position is supported by Mexico, Spain, Iceland, Peru and St.Vincent and the Grenadines. These statements of the governments' positions is carried out in a calm and controlled manner. However, it is signalling a very strong message indicating the alliance pattern of the countries represented at this meeting this year.

The back-stage group called the "like-minded group" is known for its position opposing the resumption of whaling, and indeed it is in favour of an end to the catching of all cetaceans including small cetaceans which are currently considered by many to be outside of IWC's legal competence. The presentation of government positions on the issue relating to management of Baird's beaked whaling and the possible expansion of the agenda reveals the general orientation of the "like-minded group", who share a common position on most of the issues. It is also known that the "like-minded group" in addition to sharing strong anti-whaling views, also have an animal protection and animal welfare focus, and function under the influence of their domestic interest groups, most of which are present at the meeting as NGOs. Therefore, the reactions in the NGO section provide an interesting clue for understanding the intensity of the influence that some NGO observers exert from the back-stage.

As a normal procedure within the IWC when there is no consensus on an item during Technical Committee discussions, it is decided that the decision on this agenda item will be taken later in the plenary session during the Commission meeting.

The next agenda item that was raised in the Technical Committee is a discussion on the Comprehensive Assessment of whale stocks, which is one of the most important topics for the 1991 meeting. The final decision on the adoption of a new and improved management procedure (the so-called Revised Management Procedure[35]) is to be made in the plenary session.

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[35] The Revised Management Procedure (RMP) was developed by the IWC Scientific Committee during the period 1987 to 1992. The procedure which involves a catch limit algorithm as well as methods aimed at addressing multi-stock situations was developed to meet the following criteria established by the Commission: i)stability of catch limits, ii)low risk of depleting stocks below some chosen level and iii)high

However, the Technical Committee provides an opportunity for each delegation to express their basic position. The chairperson of the Technical Committee then calls upon the chairperson of the sub-committee of the Scientific Committee on Management Procedures to present the report, which details the five potential Revised Management Procedures (RMP) that the sub-committee has been working on. The report of the Sub-committee concluded with a recommendation that the Commission adopt the so-called C procedure, which is considered the "best" single stock procedure out of the five candidate procedures. The report further states that the Sub-committee agreed on five steps to be taken before this procedure is applied to an actual fishery.

After the lengthy and highly technical accounts of the process and the result of the discussion in the sub-committee with regard to the recommended RMP, the chairperson of the Technical Committee opens the floor for discussion. The initial round of comments from senior members of various delegations express appreciation to the chairperson and the members of the sub-committee for their successful work. This is a typical front-stage opening ritual in the meeting, which occurs as the first step leading to the substantive part of the intervention.

There follow technical questions raised by some delegations which are answered by the chairperson of the sub-committee. Some comments on the acceptability are also made at this point. However, the intensity of interaction is low.

The results of the comprehensive assessment conducted on the first three stocks of whale (considered as a priority by the

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continuing yield from the stock. It was intended that the RMP would replace the Commission's "New Management Procedure" which was used to classify stocks and establish quotas before the moratorium came into effect. In 1993 the Scientific Committee unanimously advised the Commission that development of the RMP was completed and that it could be implemented for North Atlantic and Southern Hemisphere minke whales. The Commission, however, did not accept this recommendation.

Commission) and some others, are reported by the chairperson of the Scientific Committee. The report also includes the Committee's future work plans. The report of the Scientific Committee is, needless to say, highly technical, in that it requires specialized knowledge of the work in the Scientific Committee, both in terms of technical aspects and historical development of their work. Among the senior members of each government delegation, there are only a few who are equipped with both aspects of knowledge. In most cases, he or she has to depend on the scientists in their delegation for advice or assistance to understand the work of the Scientific Committee. However, there are also numbers of small delegations that have no scientists in their delegation. Often, the nature of comments or questions from delegations indicates that the work of the Scientific Committee is in fact poorly understood by the majority of those who make the decisions within the Commission.

After the presentation of the Scientific Committee report, there were a few comments made. The most noticeable ones are of support for the adoption of the C procedure made by Japan and Norway. However, there is not a significant increase of tension in their interaction. The controversial and crucial issue such as whether or not to adopt the RMP will obviously be deferred to the plenary session, where more important position statements are expected to be made. This agenda item concludes the first day of the meeting.

3) Tuesday: The second session of the Technical Committee meeting

The second day of the meeting begins with a discussion relating to Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling, which is exempt from the whaling moratorium in recognition of its cultural and subsistence importance to those aboriginal societies involved in whaling. The anti-whaling alliance, the so-called "like-minded group", presents an interesting modification in its alliance pattern on this issue, because one of the prominent members of the "like-minded group" has aboriginal groups who operate their whaling under this category. Furthermore, the countries that represent commercial whaling interests are not the same as those that represent aboriginal subsistence whaling interests.

The agenda item is opened with a presentation of the report of the Scientific Committee, which introduces the most recent scientific data on each stock subject to this type of whaling. The report of the Aboriginal Subsistence Sub-committee is also introduced by the sub-committee chairperson. The other participants remain passive, in that they concentrate on listening to the front-stage presentation or make comments of a non-controversial nature. The degree of intensity is kept low with minimum interaction occurring among the speakers. Statements are made by various speakers, but they do not actively interact among themselves.

The atmosphere in the meeting room changes when Australia presents its government position with regard to Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling under the agenda item Action Arising. While making the point that its government recognizes the subsistence need of aboriginal whalers and community people, the speaker raises the issue of the need for international observers in future operations of this type of whaling. The high-pitched tone in his voice, along with the speed of his speech, which gives a rather aggressive impression to the listeners, seems to have conditioned the interaction that followed his statement. Norway and Iceland followed Australia, presenting varied views on the multi-year block quota idea being proposed by the USA and the issue of safety principles in managing this type of whaling. The level of intensity rises, when the USA gives a lengthy statement reviewing the details of its aboriginal subsistence whaling and repeats its proposal for a three-year-block quota. As New Zealand, Japan, the Netherlands and Spain each make their intervention which oppose the proposed block quota, an interesting alliance against the USA becomes apparent.

The pattern of alliance further develops as Seychelles, Brazil, St.Lucia, Germany, Denmark, the UK and France express their support for the proposed block quota. The intensity of interaction increases as the two opposing positions each gain support, retreating from a possible consensus. Thus, as is the usual practice, the chairperson of the Technical Committee announces that this issue will be deferred to the plenary.

Because of the physical setting of the meeting room, the facial expressions are very difficult to observe. However, various characteristics that human voices carry and the changes in them seem to serve as means of individual expression. As mentioned above, when an interaction intensifies, or begins to intensify, the voice characteristics obviously change, and this seems true with both prepared speeches and spontaneous interventions. Another interesting indicator, which can substitute for non-observed individual facial expressions, is people's movement: when the issue being discussed requires urgent modification and negotiation, members of delegations move to other tables or leave the meeting room for discussions. Such movement is observable among the meeting participants, among the NGO observers and sometimes between the meeting participants and the NGO observers. Examples of such movements will be introduced as the meeting progresses.

Under this agenda item, the USA and Denmark both indicated their intention to make proposals for their quotas in the plenary, which was accepted by the chairperson.

Under the next agenda item, the Socio-economic Implications of the Zero-catch Quota and the Small-type Whaling is discussed. The report of the working group is presented by its chairperson, who reads from the written report, which is presented in full. Unlike the earlier aggressive speaker with a high-pitch tone of voice who presented the previous working group report, this speaker has a non-threatening tone in his voice and his manner. The gentle characteristics in his speech are further emphasized by his slight non-English accent.

The report reviews the main points of the working group discussion. The audience is in a passive mode, while they listen to the chairperson of the working group.

After the presentation of the working group report, Japan presented a prepared speech, indicating their intention to request consideration for establishing a third category of whaling and an emergency quota at another time. Mexico, Iceland, Denmark and St.Vincent & The Grenadines supported the recommendation. On the other hand, the UK stated that it is not satisfied there is a case for a third category.

The level of interaction is quite low during this discussion. Every speaker presents their front-stage performance, stating their official position. The level of tension is quite low and the alliance formation is almost nil.

In contrast to the discussion on the implications of the zero-catch quota and small-type whaling, the discussion which takes place after the presentation of the next agenda item, namely a Summary Review of Small Cetaceans Subject to Significant Takes, generates a much higher degree of interaction and alliance formation. This report contains information relating to four types of takes of small cetaceans: direct catches, incidental catches, deliberate incidental catches and live captures.

When the floor is opened for discussion, active interaction begins. Spain states its position that regulation of small cetaceans is outside of the jurisdictional competence of the IWC. New Zealand, on the other hand, congratulates the scientists and states that there is an ongoing requirement for such compilations of small cetacean takes. New Zealand also states its intension to submit a draft resolution to the plenary to implement further action (Appendix 3.2). USA follows the New Zealand position and indicates its intension to bring up this matter again in the plenary. The UK, Brazil, Chile, Australia, the Netherlands join in the New Zealand and the USA alliance. Japan repeats its government position, rejecting the IWC's competence for matters relating to small cetaceans. Peru reports that it has set up new priorities and introduced legislation protecting cetaceans. Mexico states its intention to report to the plenary on its national measures for the protection of marine mammals.

Government positions are stated one after the other. The level of tension is not high, because they are generally already known and neither interactive nor confrontational. It rather seems that they are presenting themselves on the front-stage for recognition of their position by the audience. Alliance formation is not strong at this point, as the level of interaction is not high.

While the front-stage interaction is carried out in this more ritualistic manner, the NGO back-stage scene is quite reactive. Several rows of long tables are laid out, with 4-5 people sitting at each table. At the very end of the NGO section, there are a few of the more influential persons sitting. One of them is often standing, receiving visits from other NGO observers. He is a well-known senior environmentalist, leading one of the largest international environmental organization. While each government position is stated, NGO observers in the middle area are more intensely reacting, both physically and orally. They nod and shake their heads, write down notes and whisper to each other.

There are a few NGO observers with computers in front of them. One of them is the editor of the newsletter "ECO", which reports daily on the discussion in the meeting from the perspectives of environmental groups represented as NGO observers. The people's physical movements in the NGO section are noticeable. Many people in the NGO section seem to function as one group, supervised by the senior person at the end of the section. They express friendly exchanges to each other as they walk by, indicating intimacy within the group. Frequent visits are paid to the senior person who stands at the back of the NGO section during the meeting. These movements within the NGO section together with the physical position of the senior person and visits to him give the impression that he is, to a large extent, directing the activity of the NGOs.

The last agenda item in Technical Committee is Humane Killing, which has been an ongoing issue for some time in the IWC. The chairperson of the Humane Killing Working Group presents the report of the Working Group, which summarizes the improvements in killing methods in Greenlandic whaling and Alaskan bowhead whaling. The report also presents the discussion on expansion of the terms of reference of the Working Group, which, it was decided, is to be referred to the Technical Committee. The Working Group also discussed a proposal to hold a workshop of technically qualified veterinary and other experts in order to review the development of the penthrite grenade harpoon since 1980, when an extensive technical discussion on this issue last took place. The report notes that the idea was proposed by the UK, supported by Seychelles, the USA, the Netherlands and New Zealand. However, Denmark, supported by Iceland and Norway stated that only technically qualified experts should be invited to the proposed Workshop.

When the floor is open for discussion, Japan states its position, questioning the IWC's competence to deal with humane killing issue, which involves subjective judgements when dealing with "humaneness". It also objected to an extension of the terms of reference for the working group, because of the limitation in the IWC's regulatory competence. The extension of terms of reference is supported by the UK, Switzerland and the USA, while an opposing view is expressed by Denmark, Iceland, St.Vincent & The Grenadines and St.Lucia.

As the exchange of views proceeds, the discussion quickly moves away from any consensus. As is the case with other issues, the participants promptly form two opposing groups, which are composed mostly of the same countries each time. The UK then questions Japan and Iceland about their intention to withdraw their objection to the ban on the use of the cold grenade harpoon, and the level of tension rises. Iceland responds that it will withdraw its objection at the resumption of minke whaling, which is at the present time, banned under the moratorium. Japan also responds negatively. The level of tension became quite high at this point.

Japan reviewed the improvement of whaling technology since 1975 and stated that holding such a workshop is not an urgent matter. Denmark, Norway and Iceland support the Japanese view.

When the two opposing views were expressed, the discussion became deadlocked. However, the situation was remedied by a new suggestion made by Norway, who proposed that the terms of reference of the proposed workshop must include the hunting of other large mammals. Iceland supports Norway's suggestion, which provides the middle ground between the two camps. The chairperson of the Technical Committee concludes the discussion by forwarding the issue to the plenary.

The level of interaction and tension was high throughout the discussion, indicating the importance of the issue and the newly proposed workshop. As with all the other difficult issues, which cannot reach consensus in the Technical Committee, the humane killing issue will also be referred to the plenary.

The rest of the agenda items in the Technical Committee are purely administrative matters which the chairperson promptly deals with. No noteworthy discussion took place. The second day of Technical Committee ended with almost all of the Technical Committee agenda items covered. The remainder are to be covered the following morning preceding the opening of the second Plenary Session.

4) Wednesday morning: The Second session of the Plenary meeting

The chairperson for the plenary session sits at the chair to start the meeting. It is now almost 10:00 a.m.. He announces that the Commission will first discuss matters relating to Finance and Administration and he calls upon the chairperson of the appropriate committee to present the report.

The report contains the important financial accounts of the Commission, revealing accumulative financial difficulties over the past several years. Thus, the major concerns for the Commission at the present time is how to achieve reduction of cost and an increase of revenue. As the chairperson of the Finance and Administration Committee introduces the main financial issues which were discussed in the committee, the audience listens in silence. As the chairperson finishes his presentation, the chairperson of the Commission opens the floor for comments.

Despite the possible financial implication to each member country, participants in the discussion are all cooperative, in that most of the discussion was carried out with high level of positive interaction, and a low degree of tension.

The discussion on most agenda items ended in consensus, without any confronting statements or comments. However, there is one exception to the general pattern of interaction regarding the financial matters. As the chairperson introduces the agenda item regarding the Advanced Budget Estimates for 1992/93, Norway asks for the floor. A senior member of the Norwegian delegation re-introduces, as occurred in the committee meeting, a proposal to double the NGO observer fee for the budget year of 1992/93 to be considered in the next year's meeting. Promptly, disagreement is expressed by New Zealand.

After Iceland seconded the Norwegian proposal, the Netherlands follows New Zealand's position by stating that NGO observers fees have been recently increased and that it is already high in comparison to other international organizations.

While the Netherlands is making a strong statement opposing the proposal, four countries have already asked for the floor. St.Vincent and The Grenadines supports the Norwegian proposal and make an additional comment that some of them have very efficient funds raising systems and that they probably have access to more funds than his government. His point is a personal one and demonstrates his negative view of the NGO's involvement in the whaling issue.

As the UK, Oman, the USA and Brazil speak in support of New Zealand, and Japan supports the Norwegian proposal, the usual alliance is formed with a high degree of confrontation. The list of speakers becomes longer as Australia. Seychelles, Chile and Switzerland speak against the Norwegian proposal. The chairperson concludes this agenda item stating that "...all these comments will be recorded and give food for thought for the deliberations at next year's meeting... (Verbatim Record 1991:23) Thus, the deadlocked situation is ended by the chairperson's ruling to refer the issue to the next year's meeting.

This piece of interaction is an interesting one, as it reveals a back-stage relationship between each government and NGO observers. The high intensity of interaction and high level of confrontation seems to be a front-stage act, aimed at the NGO observers who are both the subject of the discussion and the important audience at the same time. This interaction involves both expressions of official and personal views on the NGOs, which intensifies the interaction, thus prompting such heated debate.

To increase the efficiency of the plenary, the order of the agenda has been re-arranged. The chairperson of the Commission proposes to turn to Agenda item 6: Operation of the Convention. This is the issue that, since 1986, has been most actively pursued by the USSR; however, the interest of other countries has been extremely low. The chairperson of the working group introduces the report, summarizing the discussion that took place earlier in the working group meeting. Following the presentation of the Working Group report, comments are made by various delegations, who are generally not supportive of the USSR's position. Their delivery of their statements is controlled and a low degree of tension is expressed. After a lengthy prepared statement presented by the UK, the USSR speaks out stressing its effort in promoting understanding of the need for modification of the 1946 Convention and its disappointment on its failure to achieve this goal.

The degree of frustration is well expressed in the speech, including the suggestion of possible withdrawal from the Commission, a commonly-used threat tactic. The USSR's position is supported by three other countries; however, the majority of countries who spoke out expressed their opposition to its position. The chairperson adjourns the meeting until 3:15, during which time the Report from the Technical Committee will be completed.

5) Wednesday afternoon: Afternoon session of the Plenary meeting

The afternoon session of the plenary starts with the agenda item dealing with Scientific Permits[36]. The chairperson of the Commission asks the chairperson of the Scientific Committee, who then summarizes the relevant part of the Scientific Committee report, first reviewing the research programmes conducted under scientific permits in 1990/91, then the new or revised scientific permit proposals. The chairperson of the Commission asks the floor for comments after completion of each sub-item, but no comments are made. The audience remains passive, while the review by the chairperson of Scientific Committee is presented.

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[36] Article VIII of the International Convention for Regulation of Whaling 1946, provides for contracting Governments to issue to its nationals a special permit authorizing the killing of whales for scientific purposes. Proposed Scientific permits specifying the objectives of the research, and other details, must be provided to the Secretary of the IWC in accordance with Schedule requirements, for review by the Scientific Committee before they are issued. Notwithstanding this review, the Commission does not have the authority to deny the issuance of such permits.

The meeting room becomes quite hot in the afternoon. A lot of people have their jackets off, to adjust to the changing temperature in the room, where people are sitting quite close together. The attendance of the meeting has not changed, both in the participants' section and the NGO section, and most of the seats remain taken.

After the chairperson of the Scientific Committee finishes a brief review of the Japanese research proposal, Japan asks for the floor. A senior member of the Japanese delegation presents the well-known government position in this matter.

Iceland makes positive comments in support of the Japanese scientific research in the Antarctic. This is followed by statements by the Netherlands and the UK, both of which are strongly negative towards the proposed research that requires the lethal take of whales. Thus, the statements are intended to condemn the Japanese research activity. Despite the negative message that is carried, the two statements seem to create little tension in the room, as this opposition to whale killing has been stated many times before. No response is made by Japan.

The intensity of interaction increases after the chairperson of Scientific Committee reads the section on the USSR's research proposal which will be conducted in the Okhotsk Sea. The UK strongly questions the readiness of this research proposal and suggests it be withdrawn. The USA, Australia, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, France, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Denmark, India, Ireland and Chile concur with the UK. On the other hand, the countries such as Japan, Iceland and Norway, although they suggest that improvement on the research plan should be made, make their point that conducting research is the right of each state under the Convention.

The intensity of interaction is quite high and the tension increases as the discussion precedes. After the comment by Norway, the USSR asks for the floor and states that it will take account of the criticism raised in the discussion. China, through an interpreter, points out that it is important to consider the scientific advice of the Scientific Committee. The substance and tone of the Chinese language and the English translation with the Chinese accent that follows changes the atmosphere of the room. The tension suddenly becomes eased, and the interaction seems to slow down. Because China usually maintains an unaligned position on most issues, its comments are not predictable. Furthermore, its interventions sometimes do not follow the course of the discussion. In this case, its message separates itself from either group mentioned above and seems to have broken the flow of the confrontational interaction.

Brazil and India join the first group by making their statement in which they oppose the lethal research. The confrontational tension is re-established when Australia asks the chairperson to leave this agenda item open until the resolutions regarding scientific permits will be tabled later. The chairperson of the Commission accepts the request from Australia and moves on to the next agenda item, Cooperation with other Organizations. This agenda item is presented by the Secretary of IWC, who reports on the present and future relationship of IWC with various international organizations. The interaction during the report on this non-controversial item is minimum.

After the coffee break, the chairperson calls upon the Secretary, who briefly announces that the Draft of 42nd Annual Report of the Commission from the previous year is available for corrections.

Before proceeding with the rest of the agenda items, which were already discussed in the Technical Committee, the chairperson of the Commission decides on a time-saving procedure in which, for each agenda item, the chairperson of the Technical Committee presents the report and has it adopted, then the chairperson of the Commission open the floor for the plenary discussion.

The chairperson of Technical Committee goes over the report, one page at a time for amendment. This is an important stage for each controversial issue, because this report will become the basis for the discussion in the plenary as well as the Chairman's report which will be the permanent record of this year's meeting. The procedure is that each speaker is allowed to make amendments to his/her own statement in the report, which will, then, be adopted. The part of the report on the agenda item 8, Infractions, is amended with no disagreement or confrontation. Then, the Chairperson of the Commission takes over the meeting and opens the floor for the plenary discussion.

The chairperson of Technical Committee proceeds with Agenda item 9: Commission's competence to set catch limits for Baird's beaked whale in the North Pacific. An interesting exchange then takes place when Australia raises a question on the interpretation of the UN Law of the Sea [UNCLOS] (Appendix 1.1.1).

The exchange took place regarding the use of words in the report where it is stated "Iceland pointed out that...", which implies that what follows is an unquestionable fact. Australia and New Zealand disagree with Iceland's interpretation of UNCLOS and attempted to change the wording so that the report makes it clear that it is only Iceland's interpretation of the law. The chairperson of the Technical Committee encouraged the others to agree on the original form in the report. However, this issue is raised again in the plenary by the USA reiterating the point made by Australia (Appendix 1.1.2).

The directed disagreement causes tension and increasing confrontation. As the chairperson of the Commission comes to the end of this agenda item, there is no consensus on the issue. Furthermore, the USA and Brazil indicated their intention to table resolutions regarding this agenda item later in the meeting. The tense confrontation is re-enforced by the statement about the up-coming resolutions, although the resolutions had been expected. The chairperson of the Commission closes the meeting until tomorrow.

6) Thursday morning: Morning session of the Plenary meeting

Thursday, May 30. The third day of the plenary session began a little after 9 o'clock. The chairperson of Technical Committee, began reviewing the draft report under Agenda Item 11: Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling.

The procedure to amend the draft Technical Committee report is usually simple and straightforward, with the least amount of direct confrontation. Any delegation can amend what it has said, and leave the rest of the report to others to change if they wish. However, even within this procedure, there is the potential for confrontation. Brazil, after giving an elaborate introductory remark, proposes an amendment of what she thought she said (Appendix 1.2.1).

During the subsequent exchange between Brazil and Denmark, the tone of the voice of the Danish speaker and the manner of speech indicates high degree of frustration and consequent tension. While the Brazilian delegate attempts to change what appears to be a minor part of the wording of her own earlier statements, Denmark detects an intended change in the substance of her deliberation and insists on keeping the original wording. The degree of irritation reaches the highest level when the senior member of Brazilian delegation continues to try to modify the original text, even after the Technical Committee chairperson's ruling. The exchange ends with a rather abrupt response from Brazil, saying "OK, yes". The period of tense interaction ends and the atmosphere of the room is normalized by the chairperson's final statement that the text will remain as it is.

After the chairperson of the Commission takes over the chair, the portion of the Technical Committee report dealing with this agenda item is adopted in the plenary. The plenary discussion involves consideration of various proposals for catch quotas under the Commission's Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling scheme. Presently, there are four countries that are granted catch quotas under this category: Denmark, the USA, the USSR and St.Vincent and the Grenadines. Denmark, the USA and the USSR are seeking to renew their catch quotas, while St.Vincent and Grenadines has been granted a quota until the year 1992/93. The requests by Denmark and the USA are passed with consensus, without much exchange of conflicting opinion.

Right after the introduction of the USSR proposal for it's Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling catch quota, the chairperson of the Commission adjourns the meeting for coffee break until 11:05 a.m. The chairperson calls for a closed-door Commissioners' meeting after the break.

Coffee break, at this stage in the meeting, provides a useful time for lobbying and negotiation regarding the pending issues. This is the time when NGO observers interact directly with the government delegations. Although the content of such discussions is kept secret to an outsider, it is a regular scene for NGO observers, shuffling papers, to talk with members of government delegations over coffee. This is one of the times when observers become participants. Some NGO observers are handing out booklets with polite smiles to members of government delegations. Other NGO observers are talking in friendly fashion with government delegates in some cases with their arms around them.

As the intensity of interaction increases during the meeting, the commissioners have occasions when they can deal with complicated issues in private sessions attended only by commissioners (and in some cases, interpreters). This is the first time during this meeting, when the chairperson has called for a commissioners' closed meeting during the plenary session. The Commissioners' meeting is a closed meeting, and information related to discussions in the meeting is not supposed to go public. Thus, without access to the substance of the discussions by the NGO observers, certain issues of a highly controversial nature are discussed with the hope that consensus may, more likely, be obtained.

After the coffee break and the Commissioners' meeting that follows, the plenary is resumed. The chairperson re-opens the Agenda item concerning the Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling catch proposal by the USSR. It is adopted by consensus, without much debate. The meeting flows smoothly with an exchange of official positions and straight-forward questions seeking clarification of the proposal. A very low tension and a low degree of interaction is observed throughout.

The chairperson of the Commission proceeds to the next Agenda Item: Socio-economic implications and Small-type whaling, and asks the chairperson of Technical Committee to introduce the section in the Technical Committee report.

Following this, Japan makes a short statement regretting that their request for the establishment of the third category was not accepted this year again and that the Commission should continue to discuss this matter. This statement is made without much tension, as if the disappointment was expected. Following Japan, St.Vincent and The Grenadines presents its official position in a prepared speech, reviewing and analyzing the issue from its point of view.

The audience passively listen in silence. Iceland makes a short remark in support of St.Vincent and The Grenadines. St.Lucia also presents its view in support of St.Vincent and The Grenadines. The lengthy statements in support of the Japanese position sets the tone of the discussion on the request for an interim quota that is about to be made by Japan (Appendix 1.3.1;Appendix 3.1).

The full account of the Japanese view of the small-type whaling issue is now presented. Controlled presentation through an interpreter makes the prepared speech a more formal front-stage performance. An expression of sympathy is presented by China, who adds that "However, I hope the Scientific Committee can finish further Comprehensive Assessment on North Pacific minke stocks and the Japan Sea-Yellow Sea-East China Sea stock in the near future, and provide the specific management advice."(Verbatim Record 1991:78) The statement of the USA, which is representative of the like-minded group's position follows China. The USA recognizes JSTCW as a type of commercial whaling and states that the proposal should be addressed as an amendment to the Schedule[37].

The statement is made by the second-ranked member of the delegation who has been silent until now. The USA's statement drastically increases the degree of tension in the room, establishing the basis for polarization of the Commission. India, New Zealand and the Netherlands repeated mostly what the USA had just said, establishing their alliance on this issue. The senior member of the Japanese delegation responds to the USA comment with an overt expression of negative emotion in his voice that, "we are seeking the advice from the floor which existing framework could incorporate such emergency case for the relief quota" (Verbatim Record 1991:79).

The tension of the interaction increases as the elaboration and coalescence of the anti-whaling alliance progresses. Germany follows the position of the USA, while making a slightly different point. Although Germany's position essentially follows the like-minded alliance, there is recognition given to the social and cultural aspects of the Japanese STCW, as well as recognition of the improved stock assessment fairly expressed in his statement. Norway speaks out in support of the Japanese request. The confrontation becomes deadlocked. As the usual polarization becomes apparent, Iceland asks for the floor. The senior member of the Icelandic delegation points out three periods that the IWC has experienced, reflecting changes in its whale resource management policy (Appendix 1. 3. 2). He concludes his statement urging the Commission to develop plans for a fourth period, "when we cooporate in a decent manner to take account of the interests such as we have had identified before" (Verbatim Record 1991:81).

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[37] The Schedule is that part of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling containing regulations related to whaling operations. To effect an amendement to the Schedule requires a three quarters majority of votes cast negatively or affirmatively.

The message that the senior member of the Icelandic delegation expressed in his statement is apparently personal and reflects his observation of the problems in this Commission. He delivers his message in a non-aggressive manner which seems to release the built-up tension. The length of his deliberation, and the resulting pause in spontaneous interaction, further changes the atmosphere of the meeting. The content of the statement is interesting, in that he brings out the well-known back-stage activities into the discussion on the front-stage, when he talked about the "antechambers", where the discussion in the Commission is "choreographed". He expressed the view that such intensive back-stage activities creates a problematic situation in the Commission, where no debate takes place on any important issues.

As a part of the debate on the current agenda item, there has been an exchange of opinions regarding the statement made by India at the opening of the debate concerning "humaneness", which was a part of the basis for the Japanese request for the emergency relief allocation. The point made by a senior member of the Indian delegation was; "I don't know whether that concept [of humaneness] can be introduced in the Whaling Commission at all" (Verbatim Record 1991:79). His point, which implied that a Whaling Commission does not have to concern itself with "people issues", is harshly criticised by senior members of St.Vincent and The Grenadines and Japanese delegations, who remind him that Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling, which is exempted from the moratorium, is based on consideration of human need (Appendix 1.3.3).

As the Commission is unable to come to a consensus regarding the Japanese request for an emergency relief quota, Japan asks for their request to be voted on. This is the first voting in this meeting. The tension increased in the room as the Secretary carries out voting procedure. The result is 6 votes in favour, 14 against with 9 abstentions, thus the request was rejected.

While Denmark makes its intervention, stating the reason for its vote, the Japanese small-type whalers who have been sitting as part of the Japanese delegation, stand up and walk across the room to leave the meeting room. Eight men are showing anger on their faces, protesting against the decision that the Commission has taken. This is one expression of disapproval by those who are affected by the Commission's decision. In the past, the Alaskan Eskimo whalers had walked out of the meeting room after the Commission made an unfavourable decision on a matter that concerned them.

7) Thursday afternoon: The afternoon session of the Plenary meeting

The afternoon session resumes. As the plenary session reaches the final stage, various resolutions are tabled. It is a normal procedure that those who draft certain resolutions attempt to get as many countries involved in the drafting process in order that the resolution will more readily be passed with consensus. In this process, some become co-sponsors for the resolution. In other cases, the drafting process is carried out exclusively within a group and the final draft is distributed to the rest of the participants for their consideration.

The first resolution is tabled under the Agenda Item 14:

Adoption of Report of the Scientific Committee. New Zealand introduces a Resolution on small cetaceans (Appendix 3.2), co-sponsored by Australia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Seychelles, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the USA. The Japanese delegation section looks empty after the group of whalers walked out of the meeting at the end of the morning session and are refusing to attend the rest of the meeting.

The first comment is made by Japan, who repeats the government position that "it is not the competence of the IWC to regulate the small cetaceans" (Verbatim Record 1991:91). St.Vincent and The Grenadines states its reasons for not being able to support the resolution. Brazil supports the resolution as it considers it is a practical approach to small cetacean issue. As Mexico states its intention to abstain from the decision, if the resolution is to be adopted, and the UK, Chile and the USA support the resolution, an alliance pattern becomes evident. The usual polarised pattern is reinforced by Australia's support of the USA statement. The statement of the official government positions is carried out in a non-confrontational manner, in which most speakers read a prepared statement. The interaction progresses at a low level of tension. However, the intensity of the interaction rapidly increases when the chairperson attempts to adopt the resolution by consensus. Spain objects to the Chairperson's ruling by stating that "I think we have not a consensus for adopting this Resolution" (Verbatim Record 1991:94). It is supported by Norway and St.Vincent and The Grenadines. Spain and Norway's interventions and the following interaction with the chairperson are carried out at a high level of intensity. Especially, the deadlock situation at the end of the interaction between the chairperson and the senior member of Norwegian delegation created high tension. The chairperson attempts to break the deadlock by calling for a break. Interestingly, after a 20 minute break, the chairperson proposes that this Agenda Item remain open and that he proceed with the next Agenda Item.

Under Agenda Item 15: Humane Killing, the UK proposes an Expert Workshop convened by the Humane Killing Working Group be held prior to the 44th IWC. The proposal had been discussed earlier in the working group meeting and the Technical Committee meeting. However, there was diverse opinion on the proposal, thus no consensus was reached to hold such a workshop. In the plenary discussion, many countries shifted their position regarding the workshop. First support comes from Denmark. Following Denmark, Iceland supports the proposal with an expansion of the purpose to includes "To compare the methods to those used in the killing of other large wildlife". (Verbatim Record 1991:98) Norway supports the idea of Humane Killing Workshop, and further agrees with Iceland's suggestion to expand the purpose of the proposed workshop. Japan also supports Iceland. Australia and New Zealand and the UK, Oman disagree with the Icelandic proposal. Although there is a general consensus for the proposed workshop, the usual polarised alliance appears regarding an inclusion of other large wildlife species in the terms of reference. The deadlock situation is gradually resolved, firstly by the suggestion made by Denmark who states that ".....This discussion we understand this way that Iceland says that there's no additional wording needed. The words are there in 'assess the methods' - that's the experts that supposedly are going to constitute this workshop are supposed to assess the methods of killing" (Verbatim Record 1991:101) and later by the chairperson's proposal to ask Iceland and the UK to discuss and come to agreement on the wording.

The chairperson, after inviting the Secretary to explain arrangements for the proposed workshop, procedes to the next agenda item: Register of Whaling Vessels. The part on this agenda item in the Technical Committee report was amended, with only three simple amendments. Once the chairperson opens the floor for the plenary discussion, the lax air in the meeting room quickly tightened as Norway repeats its firm policy to withhold information on the Register of whaling vessels for security reasons.

High tension created by the Norwegian intervention is reinforced by the similar interventions made by Iceland and Japan. The short but firm statements fully express an anger on the part of whaling-related people, who are subject to the anti-whaling harassment.

At this stage in the meeting, there are quite a few agenda items which are left open for discussion. It is expected that resolutions will be tabled for discussion under action arising in each agenda item. The chairperson works out the plan for proceding, so that the Commission will be able to deal with all the proposed resolutions.

8) Thursday night: The night session of the Plenary meeting

Under Action arising in connection with the agenda item on Scientific Permits, the chairperson introduces two resolutions. Australia asks for the floor to speak to the resolution on Japanese scientific permit (see footnote 36;Appendix 3.3).

Promptly, a predictable alliance begins to form, when the UK, New Zealand, Brazil, France, the USA and Switzerland follow the Australian statement. As the tension is rising, Iceland asks for the floor and points out the illegality of adopting the proposed resolution (Appendix 1.4.1).

Norway supports Iceland's position regarding the resolution, forming an Iceland-Japan-Norway alliance on this matter. The question on legality of the proposed resolution is answered by the senior member of the New Zealand delegation, who speaks fast in a rather aggressive manner. He states that the reason the substance of the resolution was not subject to discussion earlier is that the draft resolution was circulated among the concerned delegations and that it had been revised according to the comments raised during the drafting process. Thus, it is understood that the resolution is to be adopted by consensus. The point that Iceland made provoked an intensive interaction among the sponsoring countries. New Zealand and the USA defend the legality of the resolution (Appendix 1.4.2.). An intense interaction and accordingly high tension overwhelmed the meeting room. The chairperson carries on with the meeting and simply adopted the resolution by consensus.

Another resolution, expressing disfavour toward the USSR's proposal for a special permit catch of minke whales in the North Pacific (Appendix 3.4), is introduced by the USA, co-sponsored by Australia, Brazil, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. Unlike the previous resolution addressed to the Japanese research proposal, this resolution requests the Government of the USSR to refrain from proceeding. Unlike the earlier case with the Japanese scientific permit, USSR asks for a vote on the resolution. The result of vote is 20 in favour,and 4 against and 5 abstentions. Thus, the resolution is adopted.

A mounting tension in interaction in the meeting room has become obvious, as the meeting reaches its end. Such tension is spread throughout the room, including the NGO section, where observers are busy taking notes, and typing into computers. Most noticeably, the movement in the NGO section becomes intensified, both within the NGO section and between the NGO and the Commission section. It is sometimes seen that some people from the NGO section and some members of government delegations get together outside of the meeting room while certain resolutions are being discussed[38].

Then, most typically, the level of interaction becomes extremely low when the substantive discussion relating to the content of a resolution takes place. The senior member of each government delegation presents the already-decided position of the issue, which does not allow much negotiation. While the front-stage interaction is carried out without much movement, the physical movement is strikingly apparent in the NGO section.

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[38] This phenomenon was most obvious in the 44th Annual meeting, which took place in Glasgow the following year. The researher witnessed there a certain NGO representative sending a messenger with a note to a member of a government delegation who takes part in the Commission discussion, while some resolutions on controversial issues were being discussed.

9) Friday: The last session of the Plenary meeting

The last day of the plenary session is resumed. Following yesterday's discussion, New Zealand introduces the revised draft of the resolution on the small cetacean issue (Appendix 3.5). New Zealand's proposal is followed by well-known statements on the IWC's disputed competence to manage small cetaceans made by Japan, Norway, Spain and Mexico with low tension and a low level of interaction. The chairperson closes the discussion by adopting this resolution by consensus, and he moves on to the next resolution regarding recommendations on small cetaceans proposed by the USA, who asks the chairperson to postpone the discussion to a later time in the day.

Plenary discussion on the agenda item 10, on the Comprehensive Assessment on Whale Stocks, is carried out with the least degree of disagreement until the sub-item on Schedule paragraph 10(e), which deals with the moratorium on commercial whaling, is taken up by the chairperson. The first comment is made by the senior member of the UK delegation who states that a core management procedure is now complete but that the Commission is still not in a position to modify the moratorium until further development is carried out. Following the UK, Iceland states its position that "the Commission is able to establish catch limits and the views of those who feel that it should not be done for the reason of the fact that revised management procedures have not been adopted are of another matter" (Verbatim Record 1991:125).

The question of the possible lifting of the moratorium on commercial whaling is one of the most controversial issues in this year's IWC. The views expressed by the UK and Iceland represent two polarized views which dominate the Commission. Furthermore, the UK view is the overwhelming majority view, which is evident in the following discussion. Simple statements are made in support of the UK position by Australia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Germany and the USA, forming the usual anti-whaling alliance. Japan asks for the floor and urges the Commission to implement the revised management procedure as soon as possible.

Statements of the official government positions are made, without much interaction among the delegations. As was the case in the previous year, the majority view is that the moratorium (Schedule paragraph 10(e)) should remain in place for this year, thus the Commission maintains the zero quota for commercial catch of whales.

One, indeed the only, draft resolution (Appendix 3.7) sponsored by whaling countries is introduced by Norway and generates an interesting interaction in the Commission. This resolution urges the Commission to adopt the Revised Management Procedure which course of action has been recommended by the Scientific Committee. Iceland and Japan made supporting statement as co-sponsors of this resolution. Opposition to the resolution is raised, first by Australia, followed by the USA, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. One of the reasons for opposition is expressed by Australia who states that "Unfortunately it [the resolution sponsored by Norway, Iceland and Japan] is so simple and expressed so briefly that I think it has missed some significant points" (Verbatim Record 1991:131).

Strong opposing views are expressed by several delegates, as expected. Since pro-whaling countries are the minority in the Commission, getting enough support to pass this resolution, which requires simple majority of those casting an affirmative or negative vote, is very difficult. On the other hand, the anti-whaling majority can easily pass their resolutions. The voting on this proposed resolution is conducted by the Secretary of IWC. The result is that there were seven votes in favour and nineteen against with three abstentions.

An interesting exchange concerning a procedural problem then takes place when the chairperson moves on to deal with another resolution on the Revised Management Procedure. The second-senior member of the Danish delegation points out that " the Rules of Procedure say that unless copies of this resolution have been circulated to all delegations no later than the day preceding the Plenary session as a general rule no proposal should be discussed" (Verbatim Record 1991:134). He is pointing out that the draft resolution which is about to be discussed was circulated only this same morning and that the lateness of receiving it has caused serious difficulty for his delegation. The senior member of the Australian delegation explains in response that it was distributed the previous night. In response to the explanation given by the Australian delegate, the Danish delegate emphasizes "I was personally watching when this distribution was distributed because I believed we were involved in discussion with the so-called like-minded group." (Verbatim Record 1991:134) The senior member of the UK delegation confirms that she personally distributed the draft resolution the previous night and that the Danish delegate might have witnessed the secondary distribution. The Danish delegate's response shows a high level of frustration: "...it was absolutely not to be found in our pigeonhole neither last night or this morning." (Verbatim Record 1991:135). The situation had become deadlocked, with the tension mounting in the room. The last statement is made by the senior member of the Norwegian delegation who makes his point that the printing on the paper indicates that it was printed a quarter to midnight and that it is not a proper hour to submit a draft resolution. He further suggests a compromise that vote should be postponed until after lunch (Appendix 1.5.1).

The point expressed regarding the Rules of Procedure inevitably brings the back-stage activities onto the front-stage by disclosing the work of the "like-minded" group. Closed discussion and negotiation among the member countries of the "like-minded group" is public knowledge, but the substance of their deliberations had been veiled by their back-stage behaviour. The alliance pattern throughout the plenary session strongly reveals the on-going back-stage activities of this group. However, it has always been kept out of the front-stage discussion in the plenary. The high-pitch tone of voice of the Danish representative in addressing the problem clearly signals a high level of frustration and irritation, which prompts an intense interaction in the discussion.

The short, but extremely intense exchange between the UK, Denmark, Australia and Norway seems to reveal two aspects of the nature of this Commission. First, it reveals the back-stage politics between the like-minded group and Danish delegation, who until very recently was a member of the like-minded group. Now it appears Denmark either left, or was left out from the group. The aggressive accusation by the Danish delegate regarding the procedural matter is a reflection of political difficulty within the "like-minded group", who were responsible for the draft resolution. Another aspect that this interaction reveals is the low level of behavioral morals within this Commission. The confusion regarding the time that the resolution was distributed worsened when events allow an interpretation that someone is behaving dishonestly. Although the Chairperson's ruling, that voting would take place after lunch, puts an end to the argument, this interaction could be interpreted as revealing low moral standards which set the standard of behaviour for some commissioners. Considering that the issue relating to the New Management Procedure is the most important issue for this year's meeting, the adoption of this proposed resolution has crucial importance for many delegations. Thus, an eagerness to pass the resolution by almost any means could be interpreted as justifying the kind of behaviour which lacks total honesty.

After the lunch break which allowed the needed time for some government delegations to communicate with their home governments, the proposed resolution is introduced by Australia, who makes a lengthy statement reviewing the past events from 1975 up to the present and continues to talk about the draft resolution that is tabled (Appendix 1.6.1;Appendix 3.8). In his statement, the senior member of the Australian delegation suggests that "the question of protection levels be further examined by the Scientific Committee and guidance provided to the Commission for consideration next year" (Verbatim Record 1991:136)

The length and the details contained in the prepared speech by Australia and other co-sponsors indicates the importance of this issue. The USA, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK each make its statement as co-sponsors of the draft resolution. Reading out the prepared speeches sounds monotonous, especially when physical observation of the speaker is not possible, due to the seating arrangement. However, the low level of tension in the meeting room is suddenly broken when Denmark makes another aggressive attack following on its earlier remarks about the lateness of the arrival of this draft resolution (Appendix 1.7.1). Denmark states that there has not been widespread consultation on this particular issue, and stresses the fact that "we were not consulted any more and we just did not receive any other papers and to my best belief none of the former whaling nations were informed or consulted." (Verbatim Record 1991: 140) He further states that what caused the delay was the fact that "there were strong disagreements within the like-minded group. Some of these nations cannot accept the fact that the Scientific Committee almost unanimously has come up with a recommendation for a new management procedure..." (Verbatim Record 1991:140).

Again, Denmark makes a point about a division between the "like-minded group" and the others and makes reference to the back-stage negotiation within the "like-minded group". His statement is strong and convincing because of the force of emotion expressed in his statement and also because of his experience as a member of the "like-minded group", before becoming an involuntary outsider of the group.

As Finland, Germany, Spain, People's Republic of China, the Netherlands, Japan, Chile and Brazil express their government position on the issue of the New Management Procedure, the polarized alliance pattern develops, as in most other controversial issues. The usual deadlocked situation emerges under a high degree of tension. Iceland represents the view of the whaling nations (Appendix 1.8.1), when the senior member of the Icelandic delegation, in his highly articulate manner, points out a possible interpretation of the wording in the resolution which, in his view, is intended to delay implementation of the Revised Management Procedure. The last part of his intervention brings the back-stage activities involving the "like-minded group" and the others in to the front-stage discussion. The atmosphere in the meeting room becomes tense, despite his calm and even-toned voice, as he presents his analysis of the back-stage interaction of the Commission and its lack of full and open negotiation and communication. When the tension reaches its highest level, the Chairperson adjourns the meeting for lunch.

As the plenary resumes in the afternoon, the Chairperson asks the Secretary of IWC to conduct the vote on the proposed resolution on the Revised Management Procedure. The result is eighteen votes in favour, with six against and five abstentions. Thus, the resolution is adopted. New Zealand asks for the floor to explain its abstention (Appendix 1.9.1).

While New Zealand makes its point that the proposed management procedure "may be sensible and acceptable to the majority of the Scientific Committee....in my country it's not politically acceptable" (Verbatim Record 1991:147), the most noticeable reaction is observed in the NGO section. Many NGO observers are busy taking notes, as the speech proceeds.

There are a few observers who are physically reacting to the content of the speech by nodding and raising arms up and shaking them, showing support for the points in the speech. The audience that this speech is intended for, is apparently the NGO observers, who respond positively to the New Zealand statement. Reaction from the Commission floor is nil. A few other countries explain their vote, and the Chairperson moves on to the discussion on two proposals that are left on the agenda. The Chairperson asks Iceland to speak on the first proposal (Appendix 1.10.1), in which Iceland asks for catch limits on minke whales off Iceland.

The procedural problem regarding the Icelandic proposal prompted a highly intense set of interactions between the Chairperson and the commissioners. This is a matter of great importance for the Icelandic delegation, as the proposal deals with the request for a catch quota for the Central North Atlantic stock of minke whales, the stock Iceland wishes to take whale from. At the same time, the other delegates thought it was an issue which would be contrary to the existing moratorium, which is the top priority issue for many countries with strong interests against any resumption of commercial whaling at this time. The mounting tension is eased by the adjournment for the private discussion. After the discussion, the Chairperson announced that "the Icelandic proposal contained in IWC/43/31 [Proposal by Iceland for Catch Limits on Minke Whales Off Iceland] can't be voted upon. Cannot be voted upon." Iceland appeals the Chairperson's ruling and asks for a vote. The result of the votes upheld the Chairperson's ruling.

Next, the Norwegian proposal for declassification[39] of the northeastern Atlantic minke whale stock based on the population estimate agreed by the Scientific Committee is introduced by the Chairperson. After several comments are made, the proposal is put to the vote. The voting procedure is carried out smoothly and promptly. While voting proceeds, the participants and the observers all take notes of voting. The Norwegian proposal is defeated with four votes in favour, eighteen against with six abstentions.

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[39] According to the Schedule, all stocks of whales shall be classified as one of three categories according to the advice of the Scientific Committee. These categories are Sustainable Management Stock, Initial Management Stock and Protection Stock. The Northeastern Atlantic stock of minke whale was classified as Protection Stock effective beginning 30 January 1986, but this restrictive decision is not binding

The last resolution for the 43rd Annual meeting is introduced by the Chairperson. The resolution regarding recommendations on small cetaceans (Appendix 3.6) as discussed earlier in the session. However, the resolution when earlier proposed did not achieve consensus in the Commission, and so was left open for discussion at a later time in the meeting. The USA now re-introduces the resolution.

New Zealand, Australia and Seychelles express their support for the draft resolution in their short statements. The remarks are short, as the full discussion has already taken place earlier. The opposing remarks follow. After Brazil makes its lengthy comments against the resolution, Denmark and Chile reconfirm their opposition to the adoption of this resolution. The main argument against the resolution is expressed by Chile who notes its concern about the IWC becoming involved in the management of small cetaceans that non-member states are also harvesting.

Following the Chilean statement, Mexico, Japan, Spain, St.Vincent and The Grenadines concur with its position. The statement is then made by China, who also opposes adoption of this draft resolution. The speech is delivered through an interpreter, who speaks English with a heavy Chinese accent. The non-aggressive monotonous manner of the speaker and the interpreter and the lengthy introduction makes its point unclear. However, the statement attracted some attention, as

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on the Government of Norway because they filed an objection to this classification.

the Chinese position is unpredictable and also because it is not often that the senior member of the Chinese delegation speaks out.

Support for the resolution is then expressed by France. However, it becomes apparent that the resolution lacks enough support to be adopted by consensus. Another deadlocked situation has arisen. The Chairperson asks the floor for further comments. After a short pause, he announces that the meeting will adjourn for a tea break.

Consultation during the tea break brought an interesting end to the proposed resolution, as on reconvening, the USA states its intention to withdraw the proposed resolution.

When the Chairperson disposes the Agenda Item 14, the plenary session is at the last phase, when the administrative matters and the ceremonial closing are to be dealt with. The present Chairperson's term is about to end at the close of this meeting. The last Agenda Item is Election of a new Chairperson and Vice Chairperson. There is an automatic accession of the Vice Chair to the Chair position, but a new Vice Chairperson has to be selected. A new Vice Chairperson is quickly selected with full consensus of the Commission. The ceremonial atmosphere is heightened when the new Chairperson gives a throne-type speech. Following the announcement of the newly elected Vice Chairperson who is a prominent member of the like-minded group, big applause occurs. When the meeting comes to the very end, Iceland asks for the floor. A senior member of its delegation make a well-prepared speech in which he states his conclusion that, regretably, Iceland has no choice but to withdraw from the IWC (Appendix 1.10.1). He carefully analyses the disfunctional nature of the present IWC where the conflict between the majority and minority does not allow consultations required for achieving solutions sufficient to Iceland and other member governments with whaling interests.

The tension overwhelmed the meeting room, during and after the senior member of the Icelandic delegation made his speech.

The speech had been apparently prepared in advance, in anticipation of an unsatisfactory ending of the plenary session from the point of view of Iceland and the other whaling nations. As the quiet tension spreads throughout the room, including the NGO section, some NGO observers turn to each other, but no words are uttered. Expressions that are difficult to interpret are seen. The Chairperson's statement, thanking Iceland for its statement and expressing the Commission's regrets concerning Iceland's conclusion breaks the silence in the room. Japan makes its concluding comment, supporting the conclusion that the Icelandic delegation has made. Then, the USA asks for the floor to thank the Icelandic government for hosting the meeting on behalf of the NGO groups from the USA.

The usual ending of the meeting, involving lengthy expression of appreciation to the Chairperson and the host government, with intermittent applause continues. Then, the Chairperson announces the closing of the 43rd Annual Meeting of the International Whaling Commission.

Chapter 8. Discussion

A. Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 provide a substantive basis for discussion of the current social and cultural change associated with the banning of minke whaling operations in Ayukawa-hama. Change phenomena described in these chapters are complex matters involving various interests and concerns that affect numerous people.

In Chapter 6, an examination of the social and cultural significance of STCW in Ayukawa-hama and the ethnographic interviews has demonstrated that the people in Ayukawa-hama have developed a rich whaling cultural tradition upon which their present social, cultural and economic lives have been built. It is also demonstrated that STCW was a local innovation, which provided the social, cultural, economic and a significant part of the dietary base which generates the vitality and viability of the community. The moratorium has caused serious negative impacts upon the lives of people in this community. Under such unfavourable conditions, the people in Ayukawa-hama are rejecting some aspects of the foreign ideology concerning whales and whaling, while they have readily accommodated certain other aspects into the existing social and cultural systems in order to ensure the survival of the community.

Chapter 7 has documented the polarized nature of the IWC, the forum in which important decisions concerning STCW have been made. The analysis provided enough evidence to conclude that alliance formation and consequent polarization among the pro-whaling and the anti-whaling countries are dominant characteristics of the present Commission. The various confrontations produce the polarization phenomenon exisiting within the Commission, and reflect the fundamental conceptual difference on the whaling issues among the member countries.

It also reflects the domestic political demands of each member country. The analysis demonstrated that the polarization is further accelerated by functioning of the anti-whaling alliance called the "like-minded group".

An analysis and interpretation of the findings presented in the two previous chapters makes it possible to understand the background and complexity of the STCW issues and to answer the questions that are proposed in Chapter 2 (Research Problem) : 1) how the moratorium is discussed and implemented, 2) how the community people have been coping with the imposition of the moratorium and 3) why the people in the STCW communities have rejected the new values placed on whales and whaling in the west.

B. Endogenous development in Ayukawa-hama

Historical development of whaling in Ayukawa-hama presents one example of endogenous development, a process that has been described by Tsurumi (1975, 1979a, b,c, 1989). In *Oshika-chō shi* (1988), there are various descriptions regarding endogeneity and creativity of the local people, who adopted new technology introduced from outside, incorporated it into the old system and further developed it to meet the local needs. Considering the historical and environmental circumstances, it seems very natural that LTCW corporations chose Ayukawa-hama as a location for their whaling bases in the late Meiji era. Under the favourable local conditions that LTCW subsequently helped cultivate, STCW was introduced by a non-local entrepreneur and took deep roots in Ayukawa-hama, involving numerous local people. The emergence of STCW and its development demonstrates the recent success of the endogenous innovation occurring in Ayukawa-hama. STCW operations and the related-activities have become closely integrated into the existing local social, cultural and economic system over the years, thus becoming a localized form of modern whaling.

While in recent years commercial whaling operations became progressively restricted and were eventually banned by international actions (which do not affect the domestically regulated small-whale harvest), the people in Ayukawa-hama have developed their plan to reconstruct the community based on STCW and tourism. The IWC's decision to ban minke whaling was not acceptable for the local people, who thus continue to seek normalization of the local STCW.

Six features that Tsurumi (1989) points out as characteristics of endogenous development are also recognizable in the development of whaling, particularly in the development of, and the current situation relating to, STCW in Ayukawa-hama: 1) the unit of endogenous development is the local communities, 2) "human development" is the essential measure of endogenous development, 3) ecological soundness and harmony with nature are requirements for endogenous development, 4) the agents of endogenous development are the people of the local communities, 5) pre-industrial legacies in social structure, cultural and spiritual traditions, as well as technology are renovated by the people, and 6) the theory of endogenous development is based on diverse spiritual legacies, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, Animism, Shamanism, Christianity and others (see Chapter 4.B.2.g. for detail).

Based on an examination of historical data (Chapter 5.B.3.), the discussion on social and cultural significance of STCW in Ayukawa-hama and the ethnographic interviews (Chapter 6), the above mentioned six points that are characteristics of endogenous development will be examined in this section.

The latter part of this section further elaborates the unique patterns and dynamics of the endogenous development of STCW in Ayukawa-hama. One such pattern characteristic of the endogenous development of STCW can be described by the "Icicle model" (Tsurumi 1975), in which the old and new social and cultural systems simultaniously function in the process of development. Another pattern identified by Tsurumi (1975) as unique to endogenous development is the functioning of social alliances, through which "key persons" of development successfully initiate a change process.

1) The features of endogenous development.

a. The unit of endogenous development

The *hama* unit has been an important community unit in which social, cultural and economic development based on coastal whaling operations has been successfully providing vitality and viability to the local community. The historical development of whaling, leading up to the emergence of STCW and its subsequent organization, has always been concentrated in Ayukawa-hama. The local people's perception of whaling, which is verified through an examination of the archives (Kahoku Shinpō 1906;Anon 1916;Oshika-chō 1988), reconfirms that whaling has been conceptually associated exclusively with Ayukawa-hama, which is one of the eleven *hama* communities defined in *Oshika-chō shi* (1988).

While the nation-scale modernization following the Meiji restoration in the late 19th century inevitably involved Ayukawa-hama as well as other regions of Japan, within Oshika-chō the whaling-based social, cultural and economic development occurred most intensively in Ayukawa-hama, which successfully built itself as a whaling community distinct from the neighbouring communities.

Since the decline of whaling began to negatively affect various economic, social and cultural institutions in Ayukawa-hama, it has been the local community that has made the effort to improve these institutions in order to maintain the viability of their community (Japan 1989a). A plan to promote local tourism, one of the most workable plans, is based on utilization of whales and whaling as tourism resources. Normalization of STCW operations and the construction of Whale Land for a tourist attraction are both indispensable for implementation of this plan. Presently, Ayukawa-hama continues to be a unit of endogenous development through which the local people hope to successfully reconstruct their community.

b. "Human development"

STCW-based social, cultural and economic development occurred in a thoroughly integrated holistic manner, in that economic, social, cultural and ecological development, which Tsurumi refers to as "human development", has been harmoniously carried out, utilizing the locally available whale resource. Success in production, distribution, consumption and celebration phases of STCW has been necessary for the economic, social and cultural well-being of individual members of the community, which has consequently ensured the sound development of the local community for the benefit of the local people.

The devastation created by the sudden deterioration of the economic infrastructure, following the implementation of the moratorium, has been adversely affecting the human development of Ayukawa-hama. Such negative impacts have been manifested in the breaking down of spiritual, psychological, physical and cultural well-being.

c. Ecological soundness and harmony with nature

Conscientious efforts to maintain a balance between economic development and a healthy physical environment has been recognized throughout the history of the development of Ayukawa-hama. Initial negative reaction to the proposal to allow a LTCW company to establish their whaling base in

Ayukawa-hama was based on the concerns over possible water pollution that coastal whaling might cause. Once their concerns materialized, a solution was sought by the local people, which eventually led to the emergence of fertilizer manufacturing. Utilization of non-edible parts of whale carcasses for the production of fertilizer served a dual purpose, in that it provided both an economic benefit and a solution to water pollution in the coastal area of Ayukawa-hama.

Another example is an awareness of the need for resource conservation which is consistently evident in the interviews that are introduced in the ethnographic interviews in Chapter 6. C. Although the imposition of the moratorium has been strongly resisted, positive reaction toward the regulations imposed by the IWC was frequently noted.

d. The agents of endogenous development

Development of STCW in Ayukawa-hama has involved numerous local people as described in the section concerning historical development of STCW (Chapter 5.B.3) The local people in Ayukawa-hama were involved in all phases of STCW operations; production, distribution, consumption and celebration. Crew members of STCW boats, boat owners, distributors, and consumers are local people. Moreover, some of these people also served as local political and business leaders, who have positively influenced the process of development.

Following the moratorium, it has been the local people who have been innovatively working to reconstruct their community. A continuous effort to alleviate the distress caused by the moratorium been made most intensely at the local level (Japan 1989a).

e. Pre-industrial legacies

Renovation of traditional social and cultural systems including traditional technology has been an indispensable part of the development of whaling in Ayukawa-hama. Various aspects of STCW; eg. whale-based cuisine, social network, religious rites, are clearly consistent with those seen in the traditional whaling operations. It has been traditional knowledge related to whaling and creative innovation that allowed emergence and continuation of STCW to the present day. Since the implementation of the moratorium, the people in Ayukawa-hama have been experiencing the situation where an indispensable part of the resources for their community development has been unavailable. The existing local social and cultural systems have severely deteriorated as a result of the ban on minke whaling operations. As a result, the local people have been desperately seeking the normalization of STCW, which would re-activate the local social, cultural and economic institutions, thus allowing the endogenous development to continue.

f. Diverse spiritual legacies

A set of beliefs concerning whales and humans that is uniquely found among the people in the whaling communities forms the basis of the religious practices in Ayukawa-hama. Peoples' beliefs are based on an intimate spiritual relationship between whales and humans, which is maintained and reinforced through Buddhist and Shinto religious practices. All phases of STCW operations are closely associated with such religious rites (see Appendix 4. Table 7).

2) Icicle model

The developmental patterns of whaling and the current situation after minke whaling was banned under the moratorium demonstrates the kind of development that Tsurumi calls the "icicle model", which she defines as "*a synchronic cross-sectional view of a society in which the patterns of life of many previous periods coexist with the newest modes*" (1975:15). Such a pattern of change is evident in the present situation of Ayukawa-hama after minke whaling was banned. The ethnographic interviews, which are presented in Chapter 6. C contain numerous statements which indicate the views of the local people concerning the past and present situation of the local whaling and their relationship with whaling. The most striking characteristic of their views is that they show complex reaction to various aspects of changes that the IWC's decision has brought to the community.

First, the people in Ayukawa-hama have shown both negative and positive reaction to the management advice from the IWC concerning their coastal whaling operations. They are clearly aware of the importance of effective management control over whaling and they view resource conservation positively. They accept a reduction of the catch quota as a means to conserve the whale resource. For some people, strict control of whaling operation is viewed as the measure that had been needed and they welcome the IWC's action to restrict whaling activities.

While tighter restriction on whaling activities are viewed as acceptable, the zero-catch restriction on commercial whaling is viewed negatively by the local people. Although the local economy became seriously weakened when the cessation of LTCW and pelagic whaling operations created significant unemployment, the local people still had an option to re-structure the community utilizing resources provided by the continuing STCW and by promoting local tourism. However, the zero-catch quota on minke whaling left the community without an available development option for the future of Ayukawa-hama. Cessation of minke whaling, being a localized whaling operation, caused damage not only to the local economic system as in the case of cessation of LTCW and pelagic whaling, but also to important social and cultural aspects of their lives: the ban of minke whaling caused a break-down of various important local social and cultural institutions. This is strongly expressed in the statement concerning the disappearance of whale meat from the local cuisine. In the case of Ayukawa-hama, a shortage of whale meat and blubber apparently posed a threat to a maintenance of local identity[40]. Furthermore, anger toward a denial of their traditional value placed on whales and whaling by the anti-whaling campaigns in the Euro-American urban communities is often expressed by the local people.

While strongly-held views concerning the importance of whale meat and blubber in the local diet are expressed in the ethnographic interviews in Chapter 6, these interviews also revealed that the local people are now forced to modify their consumption patterns of whale meat and blubber. Notwithstanding these modifications, the whale-based local cuisine, which is presently supported in part by the national distribution of the by-products from the Antarctic scientific research continues to be important. The people are knowledgable about the differences in the quality of meat associated with the different whale species, and they are also knowledgable about the cooking methods which are associated with specific kinds of whale. They have particular preferences regarding whale species and cooking methods and even in the manner in which they acquire whale meat (e.g. gifting). This preference is, in their thinking, associated with "growing up in Ayukawa-hama". Although there seems to be a gradual change in their acceptance of new types of whale product, demonstrated by those who now eat Baird's beaked whale *sashimi* when fresh minke whale meat is presently not readily available, the over-all patterns of traditional preference has been maintained[41].

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[40] Voluminous anthropological literature has demonstrated a crucial role that certain food items and method of preparation and consumption play in defining regional and national identity (Douglas 1984;Whitehead 1984;Ashkenazi 1989).

On the other hand, a substantive compromise, in terms of food preference, is made by consuming the Antarctic minke whale meat which the local people reluctantly substitute for the locally-produced fresh minke whale meat. Although the people's perception of the Antarctic minke whale meat is not positive as it lacks the social and cultural attributes associated with the local production, processing and distribution of minke whales, their efforts to obtain its supply indicates a special importance that the people in Ayukawa-hama recognize in consuming whale meat. For some people, the social function of minke whale meat is more important than personal consumption of whale meat, in that these people would rather give away some portion of their share as gifts than eat it themselves. This indicates that whale meat continues to serve socially important roles for some people in Ayukawa-hama.

The content of the display at Whale Land clearly represents a mixture of the local traditional value in which whales are treated as a resource for human consumption and the foreign value in which whales are treated as a non-consumptive resource (Chapter 6.B.4.). The display of these different values has elicited an interesting reaction among the local people as described in the interviews. Just as the content of the display is complex, the reaction among the local people is complex. They are generally negative toward the aspects of the display which promote the non-consumptive use of whales, as presented in the movies being shown in the display area, for example. They, however, rationalize the presence of these questionable displays by explaining that Whale Land provides an important resource for local tourism and that they are making a compromise to have a tourist attraction in their community. A town official stated:

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[41] In research on the culturally important consumption of whale meat, Braund et.al (1990) point out that the small amount of whale meat and blubber obtained through the nation-wide distribution of the by-products from the antarctic scientific research has been consumed on culturally-significant occasions that are consistent with the consumption patterns of whale meat in the pre-moratorium period.

> We have a film showing our local coastal whaling operations. We talked about showing it at the Whale Land. However, we are concerned that some parts of the film where it shows killing of whale may be offensive to some tourists who visit Whale Land (Field note 1992).

This statement indicates an ambiguous feeling behind the presentation of the movies, in consideration of the reactions of visitors, many of whom are not local people. Whale Land is also viewed positively by those who recognize its symbolic value. Although some parts of the display conflict with the traditional values of the local people, one woman says "if it had not been for Whale Land, there is nothing that relates us to whales and whaling" (Field note 1991). Whale Land serves to symbolically tie Ayukawa-hama with its past history as a whaling town and provides a means to continue an association with whales and whaling when the local whaling opportunity is severely limited under the moratorium.

In summary, the present situation in Ayukawa-hama demonstrates a clear icicle pattern in which some of the newly-introduced elements are perceived as positive, while other elements are rejected by the local people.

3) Social alliance and "key persons" in endogenous development in Ayukawa-hama

Observation on the change phenomenon in Ayukawa-hama reveals the important role that several local people have played in the modern history of the township. An eighty-year history of whaling in Ayukawa-hama reveals the dynamics of introduction, rejection and adaptive modification of new ideas through a series of contacts outside of the community. Three main events of this nature are evident. One is the introduction of whaling in Meiji 37 (1904), when an investor from outside of the community moved in with the new whaling technology, which was evaluated and accepted by the local people. The next incident was the establishment of STCW, initiated by an experienced whaler who combined two types of whaling technology to produce the kind of equipment suitable for harvesting minke whales in the local waters. Third, the moratorium on all commercial whaling was imposed by the IWC. This decision was not acceptable to the local people. The closure of LTCW bases created large-scale unemployment and the subsequent closure of whaling-related business made it even harder for the township to make an economic adjustment, when there is little alternative means of employment.

At the three turning points in the history of Ayukawa-hama, major changes were made to accommodate the new economic, social and cultural impetus which were imported from outside. It was the community people who evaluated these new aspects and restructured the existing system utilizing the local social alliance, in order to incorporate them wherever possible to improve community life. The local people's innovative approach to such change made it possible to make successful transitions at each of the first two turning points. However, the moratorium brought the kinds of changes that the people in Ayukawa-hama are struggling to reject.

The "key persons" of changes (see Chapter 5.B.3.) related to the turning points identified above, in consensus with the individual members of the community, initiated modification of the existing social, cultural and economic system in response to the changing circumstances. The "key persons" utilized their creative thinking that they acquired through their life experiences in the community, in order to solve the existing problems and to develop the community in the best interests of the local people. They reached their goals by mobilizing the social alliances that had been accepted by the community people and that had functioned over the years.

In the case of whaling in Ayukawa-hama, the process of development has been historically supported by local political and economic institutions, rather than a traditional social alliance such as *kō* and *dan*[42]. *Oshika-chō shi* (1988) gives a full account of destruction of the traditional social alliance system called *Nenrei kaitei sei* (the traditional associations which are formed according to gender and different age groups) and the emergence of politico-economic institutions at the beginning of the modern whaling area. The establishment of LTCW bases in the community caused a large inflow of people into Ayukawa-hama. Such an overwhelming demographic change inevitably affected the traditional social alliances, which had been reflected in the institution of various *kō* or *dan*, which had multiple functions including those of a religious, social, economic and political nature (Ueno et al. 1983). Unlike the neighbouring *hama* communities, the functions of *ko* and *dan* in Ayukawa-hama began to be carried out by Ayukawa-mura and the Ayukawa Gyogyō Kyōdō Kumiai (the Ayukawa Fisheries Cooperative Association)[43].

It has been the village/town mayors and the presidents of the local Fisheries Cooperative Association who played a leading role at the time of various important transitions in the history of Ayukawa-hama. The village/town mayors, representing municipal office, have been involved in the political and administrative matters of all the citizens, while the presidents of the Local Fisheries Cooperative Association concerned themselves mainly with the economic matters of the local fishermen. Although the major functions of these two institutions are different, the substantive changes that have taken place in Ayukawa-hama have been generated and implemented through these two institutions.

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[42] *Kō* and *dan* refer to the traditional associations consisting of households or individuals, who provide mutual aid to the member of the group and other community services (Bunkajinruigaku Jiten 1987:250).

[43] Although the major functional shift of social alliance took place as a result of the introduction of LTCW, there seems to have been a gradual shift in the pre-whaling period. It is known that the leaders of the local political and economic institutions made an effort to improve the living condition by convincing the people of the benefits of LTCW to the local community.

The historical importance of the township offices and the Fisheries Cooperative Association that functioned as institutions of social alliance has been maintained in the present situation after the imposition of the moratorium created the devastating changes to the lives of the local people. It has been the locally initiated plans, led and supported by these two institutions, that have been implemented to alleviate the distress in Ayukawa-hama (Japan 1990a)[44].

The general structure of Japanese rural townships has been described in various scholarly works (Befu 1971, Norbeck 1978, Ueno et al. 1987). Befu, Norbeck and Ueno et al. refer to *buraku* (hamlet) as the modern descendant of the traditional rural community. The 1943 and 1946 administrative reorganization amalgamated several *buraku* into larger political units called *mura* (village), *machi* (town), and *shi* (city); however, *buraku* can be still recognized as a sub-social unit in many present municipalities. These sub-units are often called *gyōseiku, ku, jichikai, burakukai, chōnaikai*.

The present municipalities such as *mura, machi, shi* consist of numbers of such administrative sub-units. In the case of Ayukawa-hama, the township structure follows the general patterns, in that Oshika-chō is divided into twenty-two *gyōseiku* which generally correspond to the traditional settlements identified as *hama* or *buraku*. Ayukawa-hama area is an exception to the general pattern in that it is further divided into seven smaller subunits or *gyōseiku* because of its large population in comparison to the other *gyōseiku*. There is a person who is assigned as *gyōseiku-chō* (a head of the district) in each *gyōseiku*.

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[44] Promotion of local tourism and promotion of an aquaculture of shellfish and sea urchins are recent efforts made by the Township and Fisheries Cooperative Association to revitalize the local economy after the cessation of LTCW and reduction of STCW (Japan 1990a).

The decision-making process in each *gyōseiku* is in general a consensus building approach. Norbeck (1978) presents details of *buraku* organization, noting that a leader of *buraku* is responsible for the planning and implementation of the *buraku* affairs. He also points out the democratic nature of *buraku* organization:

> Authority is seldom or never wielded by this official, who confines his *buraku* activities to planning and management rather than give order of any kind (Norbeck 1978:96).

Fisheries Cooperative Associations play a significant social and economic role in the Japanese fishing communities. In Ayukawa-hama, the Ayukawa Fisheries Cooperative Association, presently called Oshika Fisheries Cooperative Association, has been a key institution through which important decisions were made and implemented.

Fisheries Cooperative Associations were formed as early as the late nineteenth century. The main function, at that time, was management and maintenance of fishing grounds (Ueno et al. 1983). The 1948 Fisheries Cooperative Association Law specified the details of operational requirements for each Fisheries Cooperative Association. Thus it made the Fisheries Cooperative Association "the vital organization linking the central and prefectural government with the individual fisherman" (Ruddle 1986) In 1949, a Fishery Law was passed prescribing that fishing rights and licenses could only be given to working fishermen through each of the local Fisheries Cooperative Associations. Members of Fisheries Cooperative Associations are individual fishermen, registered as full-members or semi-members, who receive membership benefits such as access to fishing rights and licenses, access to fish markets, and the opportunity of educational and financial assistance (Asada et al. 1983). One aspect of the decision-making process in the local Fisheries Cooperative Association is the democratic participation of the members:

> Policy and other major decisions were always made at meetings where everybody involved is in attendance and which are governed by the normative objective of attaining a consensus that embraces the interests of all concerned, rather than a simple majority approval (Ruddle 1986:7).

In summary, the Fisheries Cooperative Association and the township structure functioned throughout the history of Ayukawa-hama as the key social alliance-sustaining mechanisms that generated changes in the local community. In the present situation, where the moratorium severely affected the local whaling industry these two institutions continue this function in dealing with the problems. These democratic and consensus seeking systems enable individuals in Ayukawa-hama to participate fully in discussions concerning the future of whaling.

C. Polarization in IWC

The IWC has been a subject of academic study for a wide range of disciplines. Historical changes occurring in the IWC and its present relationship with Norwegian marine policy were reviewed by Alf Håkon Hoel (1985 and 1990 respectively). Milton M.R. Freeman (1990) examined the recent state of the IWC and points out that the conservation and animal welfare organizations have successfully implanted their anti-whaling position in the Commission. Freeman's most recent research deals with the classification problem in the IWC which unfairly treats non-aboriginal small-scale community based whalers in Norway, Japan and Iceland (1993). Ray Gambell (1993) reviews the development of the IWC's management scheme, with a focus on the regulations concerning Aboriginal/ Subsistence whaling. The effectiveness of the IWC was examined by Steinar Andersen (1993) in a recent paper, where he concludes that the increased political complexity and strengthening of emotionally/morally based argument opposing whaling in the IWC has drastically decreased the effectiveness of the Commission as a resource management organization. Tore Schweder (1992) examines functioning of the IWC Scientific Committee in the 1950's and at present. He concludes that there is a parallel in these situations where politicisation of science is a dominant force in the IWC Scientific Committee.

Results from the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings provide additional insights related to the dominant characteristics of the present IWC. Among these characteristics, the polarization phenomenon most clearly describes the present state of the Commission. Throughout the meetings, there are two distinctly identifiable groups: 1) the pro-whaling group and 2) the anti-whaling group. The two groups represent two polarized positions related to the important issues which are currently discussed in the Commission. The anti-whaling group is consistently in the majority and consequently control the decision-making on each given issue. The phenomenon of polarization has caused many deadlocked situations, and added to the cause for Iceland to leave the Commission following the 43rd meeting. The 43rd meeting was also a significant meeting, in that many of the back-stage activities which had been accelerating and increasing the degree of polarization within the Commission, were brought forward on the front stage of the Commission discussions. The nature of polarization within the IWC as an integral part of its discussions and decision making will be further examined in this section based on the findings of the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings.

1) Patterns of polarization

The data gathered in the Working Group meeting, the Technical Committee meeting and the Plenary session of the 43rd meeting was systematically analyzed in a previous chapter (Chapter 7) based on the following variables: intensity of interaction, level of tension, tone of voice, content of verbal exchange, personal/official position distinction and front stage/back stage distinction.

Polarization inevitably involves formation of alliances, which split the Commission into two groups of countries who take opposing positions on various issues. In order to examine the dynamics of the polarization which became apparent in the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings, the situations where extreme splits of position occurred are summarized in the Table 2[45].

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[45] In some situations, formation of alliances is not evident from verbal expressions that are recorded in the verbatim record. However, these situations are important to list, because the patterns in which the split of positions occurs are consistent with previous polarization patterns.

Table 2: Major issues of conflict during the 43rd meeting of the IWC.

Subject	Polarized Alliance Patterns		Result
Working Group			
1)STCW is commercial vs Special category	Japan	Netherlands	No consensus
2)limited whaling for JSTCW	Japan Denmark St.Vincent	UK. NZ. USA	No consensus
Technical Committee			
3)Commission's competence to set catch limit for Baird's beaked whale in the North Pacific *low tension	Japan Denmark Mexico Spain Iceland Peru St.Vincent Norway	USA, NZ, Netherlands Sweden, Aus Germany, UK Switzerland Brazil, Seychelles Finland, Oman Ireland, France	No consensus Defer to Plenary
4)Revised Management Procedure:adoption of C procedure	Japan Norway		No consensus Defer to Plenary
5)Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling: a need for observer, block quota *high tension	Aus. Norway Iceland NZ Japan Netherlands Spain	USA Seychelles Brazil St.Lucia Germany Denmark UK France	No consensus Defer to Plenary
6)STCW:ad hoc solution *low tension	Japan Mexico Iceland Denmark St.Vincent	U.K.	No consensus
7)Summary review of small cetaceans	Spain Japan	N.Z. USA, Brazil, Aus.Chile Netherlands	No consensus Resolution to come

Table 2 (con't)

Subject	Polarized Alliance Patterns		Result
8)Proposed establishment of Humane killing workshop *high tension	Denmark Iceland Norway Japan St.Vincent St.Lucia	UK,USA, NZ. Seychelles Netherlands Switzerland	No Consensus Defer to Plenary
Plenary Session			
9)NGO observer fees to double	Norway Iceland St.Vincent Japan	N.Z. U.K. Netherlands U.K. Oman USA, Seychelles Chile, Swiss	No consensus Next year
10)Japanese Scientific Permit	Japan Iceland Norway	Netherlands U.K. USA Aus. Swiss Spain, Germany France, N.Z. Denmark, India Ireland, Chile Brazil	Deadlock Resolution to come
11)Adoption of TC report: Commission's competence to set catch quota for Baird's beaked whales	Iceland	Aus. N.Z.	Chair's ruling: original wording
12)Adoption of TC report: Aboriginal/Subsistence Whaling	Denmark	Brazil	Chair's ruling: original wording
13)Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling: Japan points out change of Aus. position	Japan	Aus.	
14)STCW:emergency quota	Japan Iceland St.Vincent St.Lucia	USA,India, Netherlands Germany, UK India, NZ	Deadlock: Vote(lost)
15)Debate on "Humaneness"	St.Vincent Japan	India	

Table 2 (con't)

Subject	Polarized Alliance Patterns		Result
16)Resolution: Small cetaceans	Japan St.Vincent	Aus. Finland Germany Ireland, Netherlands Seychelles S.Africa, Sweden Swiss, UK, USA Brazil,Chile	No consensus
17)Humane killing workshop: Iceland proposed to widen terms of reference	Denmark Iceland Norway	Aus NZ UK Oman	UK&Iceland discuss later
18)Resolution re. Japanese Scientific permit	Iceland Norway	Aus,UK,NZ, Brazil USA,Swiss France	Adopted without vote
19)Resolution re. USSR Scientific permit	USSR	USA, AUS. Brazil, France Germany, Ireland Netherlands Sweden, Swiss UK	Vote(lost)
20)Revised resolution on small cetacean *Revised from 16)	Japan Norway Spain Mexico	N.Z.	Adopted without vote
21)Discussion on moratorium	Iceland Japan	UK, Aus. Netherlands Swiss,USA Germany Sweden	Decided by majority
22)Resolution to support C procedure	Norway	Aus.USA,UK Netherlands Germany	Vote(lost)
23)Denmark made an issue of the time when the draft was distributed	Denmark Norway	UK, Aus.	
24)Resolution regarding RMP	Denmark Japan Iceland	Aus.USA. Netherlands Sweden,UK Finland,Germany Spain	Vote(lost)

Table 2 (con't)

Subject	Polarized Alliance patterns		Result
25) Iceland proposal for quota Procedural problem	Iceland Norway	UK,Brazil Aus, USA Seychelles	No action taken
26) Norway's proposal for reclassifying minke	Norway		Vote(lost)
27) USA resolution on Resolution re.small cetacean	Brazil Denmark Chile Mexico Japan Spain St.Vincent China	USA, NZ Aus,Seychelles	Withdrawn

The above table lists the major issues and illustrates the patterns of interaction which resulted in the polarized situations where two opposing positions regarding the given issues are expressed. Such confrontations are eventually resolved by seeking a consensus or voting.

There are important phases in the progress of the meeting that are not illustrated by the given data. The most crucial phase is the Commissioners' meetings, which are held exclusively with the Chairperson and the Commissioners, who may be accompanied by an interpreter if needed. The first meeting of this kind takes place the day before the opening of the plenary session. The frequency of the Commissioners' meetings increases as the meeting processes cause tension to increase.

The outcome of the discussions in the closed Commissioners' meetings influences, to a great extent, the level of tension and the degree of interaction in the plenary discussion. Often, the discussion on some controversial issues is carried out with a very low degree of tension. It may be due to the outcome of negotiations in the Commissioners' meeting which was held earlier.

Another phase of interaction that is not apparent from the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings are the private negotiations outside of the formal discussion in the meeting. During coffee break, lunch break and on other occasions, private negotiations are frequently carried out among individuals and groups. Sometimes, a message is passed around during the meeting to negotiate some detail of the issue under discussion, or to coordinate some action within a certain group. Such interaction is of a private and hence largely inaccessible nature and has not been used in this work.

There are several important points that characterize the patterns of polarization. They are summarized below.

1) The discussion on most of the important issues ends in polarization with two opposing positions resulting in deadlocked situations. Furthermore, the large anti-whaling block succeed in every instance in forcing an unwilling minority to join a consensus decision, or where a vote is taken, are able to defeat any initiative put forward by the whaling minority group. Table 2 indicates that the Working Group discussion, the Technical Committee discussion and the early part of the plenary meeting are used mainly for presentation of positions and establishment or confirmation of alliances on each agenda items. It is commonly seen that the open-ended discussion take place in the early stage of the Commission's deliberation and that the unresolved issues are deferred to later stages of the meeting in which the final decision are made. Table 2 beginning with the fourteenth item, illustrates that most of the major items of the Commissions business, including the Japanese request for an emergency quota for STCW, discussion on Schedule 10 (e) which deals with possible modification of the moratorium, the proposed adoption of the Revised Management Procedure, Iceland's request for a quota and the Norwegian request for reclassification of the Northeastern Atlantic minke whale stock, all follow this pattern of developing polarization and inability to develop a consensus, followed by a vote, where

the majority view, represented by non-whaling countries, invariably prevails.

2) Polarization frequently occurs during discussion of any non-substantive issues. The ninth item in Table 2 is a typical example when the discussion on possible increase of the NGO observer fees resulted in a pro-whaling versus anti-whaling confrontation. The disagreements on the amendment of the Technical Committee report as seen in the eleventh and the twelfth situations listed in Table 2. are other examples of this nature. The interactional analysis of the IWC meetings presents other cases of confrontation in which the two opposing opinions on non-substantive matters ends in a deadlocked situation, which is resolved by the Chairperson's ruling. These cases do not necessarily involve alliance formation, but illustrate the serious crisis within the Commission that cannot resolve matters in a conciliatory manner.

3) The members of the two opposing alliances are consistent throughout the discussion with an exception during the discussion on the quota request for the Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling made by the USA. The main member of the pro-whaling group are Denmark, Iceland, Japan, Norway, St.Lucia, St.Vincent and The Grenadine, and USSR while the anti-whaling group consistently includes Australia, Brazil, Finland, France, Germany, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Oman, Seychelles, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the UK, the USA. Furthermore, as illustrated in Table 2, this pattern of polarization is consistent in any conflictive situations where the members of the Commission disagree.

2) The nature of polarization

Having examined the patterns of polarization above, the following section describes the nature of this polarization. The content of the statements that were made during each polarized situation provides useful information to answer questions about the nature of the disagreement.

a. Conceptual difference as a cause of polarization

Polarization within the IWC occurs because of conceptual differences concerning the present state of whaling issues. The most basic question within a whaling management body as the IWC should be: "Are whales endangered?". This question might be expected to be answered in simple scientific terms, given that the Convention under which the IWC operates requires it to be a science-based whale management body. However, the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings reveals that, within the Commission, there is a serious divergence in understanding the answers to fundamental scientific questions on the status of whale stocks and the means being taken to improve the IWC's management measures.

The verbatim record of the 43rd IWC provides a good example of these diverse views. On two separate occasions, the senior member of the Iceland delegation and the New Zealand delegation each made lengthy statements, in which they make crucial points illustrating their perception of the state of whaling issues.

Appendix 1.3.2 provides the record of the statement made by the senior member of the Icelandic delegation. In this statement, the Iceland representative refers to the three periods in the IWC history. The first period is "a period when whaling was not sufficiently regulated". The second period was "a period of concern amongst a number of members of this organization to try to establish some kind of control over the unrestricted whaling". The third period was "the period which began in 1982 with implementation [of the moratorium] from 1986 in which it can be said that the efforts have been quite successful to deal with the problems of the first period". He further states that the Commission now acts as if the first period was still going on. In conclusion, he urges the Commission to develop a plan for the fourth period:

"a fourth period when we cooperate in a decent manner to take account of the interests [JSTCW emergency quota] such as we have had identified before" (Appendix 1.3.2.).

While Iceland views the present state of the whaling issue as being in need of a fourth period when the Commission should cooperatively move on to consider various whaling interests, New Zealand expresses an extremely different view on the present state of whaling issue (Appendix 1.9.1.). A senior member of the New Zealand delegation, in explaining his abstention on the proposed adoption of the resolution on the Revised Management Procedure, makes a clear point regarding his view of the present state of whaling issue. He refers to the IWC's first management procedure using blue whale units, and says that "...the first attempts based on blue whale unit was an unmitigated disaster". "The second, the New Management Procedure was fatally flawed and continued the process of depletion of whale stocks." (Appendix 1.9.1.). While the Icelandic delegate recognizes the success that the moratorium and development of Revised Management Procedure has made in dealing with the problem created by the un-restricted and inadequately managed whaling operations in the earlier periods, the senior member of the New Zealand delegation emphasizes only the failure of the earlier New Management Procedure and warns of the dangers of continuing past failures: "We now have one more chance and if we get it wrong, it will be our last chance" (Appendix 1.9.1.).

The above comparison demonstrates the fundamental difference in the understanding of the present state of the whaling problem within the Commission. The Icelandic delegate positively evaluates the recent work of the IWC Scientific Committee to allow better management of whale stocks, while the New Zealand delegate is negative about the effectiveness of the IWC's work throughout the history of IWC including the present. Thus, the question: Are whales endangered? has two answers within the present IWC. Such extreme polarization in evaluating the work of the Commission seriously affects the dynamics and outcomes of discussion in the Commission.

Another example demonstrates the principal matters over which the two opposing groups are in disagreement. The interactional analysis of the IWC meetings presents the situation where the concept of "humaneness" is discussed in two distinctly different contexts: "humaneness" concerning human beings and "humaneness" concerning whales. The discussion of this issue indicate a fundamental confrontation concerning the mandate of the Commission that makes the front-stage interaction extremely polarized.

There was a short, but intensive discussion on the concept of "humaneness" among India, St.Vincent and Japan, listed as the fifteenth situation in Table 2 (Appendix 1.3.3.). A senior member of the Indian delegation expressed the view that the issue of "humaneness" toward humans is outside of the IWC's scope of discussion, while the representatives of the St.Vincent and The Grenadines and the Japanese delegation believed that "humaneness" indeed provides the basis of the special consideration given to the various Aboriginal/Subsistence whaling operations. In another interaction, the UK stressed the importance of giving consideration to "humaneness" to whales and proposed a special Workshop of experts to discuss this matter (the eighth and the seventeenth situation in Table 2). In this context, a senior member of the Japanese delegation states his view that the "humaneness" in killing methods used in whaling is outside of the IWC's jurisdictional competence, as it is not mentioned in the text of the Whaling Convention or the Schedule document.

Interestingly enough, the word "humaneness" is used quite differently on these two occasions. When the UK proposed a "humane killing workshop", the word "humane" refers to the humane treatment of animals, in this particular case whales. Whereas, in the discussion on the emergency quota for Japanese STCW, the word "humaneness" was used in reference to the human rights of the local people who would benefit from the proposed emergency quota. It is interesting to note that the UK proposal for the humane killing workshop was, after considerable discussion, passed without vote, however, the proposal for the emergency quota on the basis of the basic human rights of the local people was voted against by the majority and, thus defeated.

These two issues, namely the Japanese STCW emergency quota and the humane killing workshop proposal, involve a number of different aspects that need further consideration. However, they clearly demonstrate the existence of two conflicting views of the IWC's mandate in managing whale resources. The position stated by the Japan-St.Vincent alliance is based on the view that whales are an exploitable resource for the use of human beings whose human rights should be respected in the Commission's management scheme, while the Indian-UK alliance represents the position in which whales are viewed as a class of animals which requires cautious and "humane" treatment by the users of the resource whose human rights are outside of the IWC's mandate.

The Japan-St.Vincent position is a representation of the value imbedded in the "wise use" concept of resource management. On the other hand, the India-UK position represents a value-orientation that forms the basis for the "non-use" position[46]. Such "wise use" versus "non-use" contradiction is also found in the discussion on the issue of the Japanese Scientific permits, where the Netherlands, the UK, the USA and those aligned with their position, argue against the lethal aspect of the proposed research, while complimenting Japan on the non-lethal aspects of the research. The issue here is focused on the action of "killing whales", denying the validity of any activities which involve the killing of whales.

The "non-use" orientation that underlies the anti-whaling position also becomes clear in the statement that a senior member of the New Zealand delegation makes in explaining their position against an adoption of the Revised Management Procedure. He states that the general public will never understand the content of the procedure and that "They will react to its product in the form of whales proposed to be taken and I suspect they won't like a fair bit of what they see" (Appendix 1.9.1.). The statement presented by the New Zealand delegate implies that the act of hunting whales is not acceptable irrespective of the status of the stocks or the management procedure being followed. It is these profoundly dichotomous views of "wise use" and "non-use" of whale resource that form the basis of the two opposing positions of the pro-whaling and the anti-whaling groups within the IWC.

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[46] Alan Herscovici (1985) recognizes that in the United States, there has been a similar split in conservation philosophy into "no-use" and "wise-use".

b. Domestic politics as a cause of polarization

The political nature of the polarization is a dominant feature of the interactions in the IWC meetings which apparently provides the motivation for many of the actors within the IWC.

There is apparently a correlation between the kinds of issues concerning whales and whaling that satisfy the domestic politics of each country and the issues that receive a high priority in the IWC's discussion.

According to Table 2, two major issues have gained greater importance in the Commission, as demonstrated by the high level of participation in the discussion: one is the issue of the management of small cetaceans and the other is the increased attention on humane killing[47].

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[47] These two issues have been discussed in the IWC for many years. The issues concerning humane killing were recently intensively discussed in 1980 when the improved penthrite grenade was successfully developed and again at the workshop in 1992. The issue of the Commission's legal competence to manage small cetaceans has also been debated in the Commission for many years. In 1972, the Scientific

In the debate concerning the third item on Table 2: Commission's competence to set catch limit for Baird's beaked whale in the North Pacific, which took place in the Technical Committee of the 43rd meeting, representatives of twenty-two countries stated their governments' positions. This represents a high level of interaction although the tension was quite low because the actors all knew that they were not at the decision making stage of discussions.

The small cetacean issue was discussed for the second time later in the Technical Committee where the Scientific Committee's review of small cetaceans was summarized and discussed. Spain and Japan stated their well-known positions related to the IWC's lack of competence to manage small cetaceans. New Zealand, the USA, Brazil, Chile, Australia and the Netherlands aggressively expressed their positions in support of further scientific work on the status of small cetaceans. The tension and the level of interaction became significantly elevated and the rapid formation of familiar alliances was noted. It was also significant that, at this stage, Peru officially reported on its national legislation for the protection of cetaceans, and Mexico announced its intension to make a report on its own activities related to small cetaceans in the plenary session. The unusually large number of countries participating in the debate seems to reflect the importance of this issue. This tendency was further heightened in the plenary session when the two resolution on small cetacean were tabled. One is "Resolution on small cetaceans" proposed by New Zealand and other anti-whaling countries (Appendix 3.2 and later revised as Appendix 3.5) and the other is "Resolution regarding recommendations on small cetaceans" proposed by Australia and other anti-whaling countries (Appendix 3.6).

The first resolution was discussed by fourteen countries;

Committee decided to form a sub-committee to examine the situation concerning small cetaceans.

however, when it became clear that the resolution could not be adopted by consensus, the Chairperson adjourned the plenary for a coffee break. Later, when the session resumed, he announced that the resolution will be discussed again at a later time in the meeting. This was apparently intended to allow time for further negotiations, so that the resolution might be adopted by consensus. The second time that this resolution was discussed, it had been revised with the inclusion of two clauses: 1) "the provisions which expressed awareness of the differences of views of member states on the regulatory competence of the IWC with regard to small cetaceans", and 2) "conscious of the sovereign rights of coastal states". This recognition of the diverse views on the IWC's competence and the sovereign rights of coastal states allowed the Commission to reach a consensus to adopt the resolution.

Following the adoption of the revised resolution on small cetaceans, the USA tabled the second resolution on small cetaceans. However, the USA asked the Chairperson to postpone the discussion until a later time. The second resolution was then re-introduced toward the very end of the plenary session. After a significant amount of debate on the proposed resolution, involving twelve participants, the resolution was withdrawn. The formation of polarized alliances was clearly seen. The resolution did not reach a consensus for the reason, as Chile summarised: "....it [the resolution] has been mentioned with reference to non-member states' river[ine]..... small cetaceans..." (Verbatim Record 1991:159).

Another issue of significant domestic political importance which has become a major issue within the Commission, as is evident from the interactional analysis, is the issue of humane killing. At the 43rd Annual meeting, the UK proposed holding a Workshop to be attended by technically qualified veterinary and other experts to review the killing methods used in various types of whaling since 1980. The proposal was supported by Seychelles, the USA, the Netherlands and New

Zealand which represent part of the core of the usual anti-whaling alliance.

The discussion on the proposed Workshop was carried out very actively in the Technical Committee meeting. In the plenary session, the discussion continued with an interesting change in the dynamics in the interaction. Denmark, Iceland and Norway who opposed the idea earlier, shifted their position after proposing a minor modification to the terms of reference for the Workshop to include a comparison with killing methods used for other large mammals. The high tension and active interaction, seen in the discussion, seems to indicate that the humane killing issue has become a major interest in the Commission. How does this phenomenon relate to the domestic circumstances in the countries which supported the proposed Workshop and tabled the resolutions on small cetaceans?

The issue of small cetaceans and the continuation of the moratorium are, no doubt, the main topics of almost every anti-whaling NGO document[48]. The USA-based NGO groups: Cetacean Society International, The Humane Society of the United States, The Animal Welfare Institute, and the UK-based NGO groups: Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society, Environmental Investigation Agency and others all produce documents or newsletters for the 43rd meeting in which they discuss these two issues as the main subjects. Representative of such documents, the last page of The Connecticut Whale Vol.XVIII, No.1.(January 2, 1991) announces a Global Cetacean Coalition: " An alliance of over 60 national and international non-governmental organizations" and published a "1991 Policy Statement", which was agreed at their meeting in November 1990. In the statement, the GCC stresses two points: 1) a call for indefinite maintenance of the existing moratorium on the commercial killing of all whale stocks and 2) the competence of the IWC to regulate whaling on all cetacean species. Furthermore, a strong message that the small cetacean issue has become one of the top priority agenda items is evident in the glossy booklets on small cetaceans of the world, produced by the Environmental Investigation Agency for two consecutive years. This organization held a special press conference during the Commission meeting, in order to explain their interpretation that the situation regarding the small cetaceans of the world is in need of immediate action.

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[48] NGO documents have no official status within the Commission as opposed to documents submitted by member governments which then receive an IWC number and which become part of the official record of the meeting.

There are other groups of NGOs who have different issues as their top priorities. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Care for the Wild, which are both UK-based organizations, and the USA-based Animal Welfare Institute produced documents in which they discuss "humaneness" in whaling operation. The most elaborate work is done by the RSPCA which produced a booklet, titled "The Cruel Sea: Man's inhumanity to whales. In the preface, it is stated that:

> ...it is the view of the RSPCA, and countless others that the killing of whales is completely unacceptable. The methods used are inhumane, and, irrespective of moral and conservation arguments, it is upon the grounds of this inhumanity that we urge a complete cessation of all commercial whaling (1991:5).

A comparison of the major issues in the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings and the priority issues in the NGO documents make it clear that the IWC is a forum where some of the member countries try to satisfy the domestic political pressure exerted by the NGOs. The nature of the polarization within the IWC is exacerbated by such political activity which, to a large extent, is directed by the NGO groups.

3) The cause of extreme polarization in the Commission

The earlier examination of the patterns and nature of the polarization within the IWC concludes that it is extreme and of high frequency and points out the fundamental disagreement on evaluation of the IWC's work and the understanding or interpretation of the IWC's mandate in managing whale resource. It was also noted that domestic political motivation generates or exacerbates this polarization. In this section, the polarization phenomenon will be further examined in order to investigate other causes of the extreme polarization within the Commission.

The membership of the two opposing groups: the pro-whaling group and the anti-whaling group, consistently form a majority-minority confrontation throughout the discussion in the IWC. Furthermore, the membership of each group is consistent in that the same countries take the same side on most issues dealt with by the Commission. In all of the polarized situations throughout the various sessions of the 43rd meeting, this majority-minority alliance pattern repeatedly emerged. Furthermore, in the plenary session the majority group, known as the "like-minded group", consistently defeat the minority position when a vote is taken. In all six votes that were conducted in the 1991 meeting, the majority anti-whaling group defeated the minority pro-whaling group. Four out of the five resolution proposed by the majority group were adopted (one was withdrawn by the sponsoring government), while one resolution proposed by the minority group was voted on and defeated. The overwhelming block vote that the majority group use is the most overt outcome of the polarization in the Commission. The formation of alliances that are a significant part of the polarization seen in the Commission enable such coordinated behaviour among the member of the majority group. Such alliance formation is obviously one important cause that make the IWC extremely polarized.

In the past, activities of "the like-minded group" had been back-stage, out of sight of the public, and consequently only suspected or vaguely known, and had never been overtly expressed in the official setting of the meeting. However, in the 1991 meeting, the statement regarding the back-stage alliance was made publically by a member of the Danish delegation, which to that point had been a member of the alliance. When he made a point about the delay of the distribution of the draft resolution that was about to be discussed, he stated "we are working with the so-called like-minded group, it's like working with Icelandic geyser, you never really know when they are able to produce..." (Verbatim Record 1991:134;Appendix 1.5.1.) As the discussion became tense, when the UK continues to denies the delay of distribution of an important draft resolution, he further states that he observed the distribution of the draft because he thought that his delegation was involved in discussion with "the like-minded group". The back-stage alliance activities were thus brought into the front-stage discussion for the first time by the Danish delegation, who appeared to have been, without their knowledge, suddenly excluded from the like-minded group.

Later in the discussion, in response to Australia and the USA, who explained the reason for the delay of distribution, the Danish delegate states that Denmark was excluded from the consultation and that none of the former whaling countries were consulted. His anger was fully expressed for what he considers "unfairness" on the part of the like-minded group. Furthermore, he presents in public his insightful opinion as a former member of the like-minded group providing interesting information concerning what has happened among the like-minded group members in drafting this important resolution. He says:

> The reason for the lateness of this proposal is that there were strong disagreements within the like-minded group. Some of these nations cannot accept the fact that the Scientific Committee almost unanimously has come up

with a recommendation for a new management procedure..." (Appendix 1.7.1.).

Following the statement by the delegate from Denmark, the internal interaction of the like-minded group was further discussed by a member of the Icelandic delegation. He stated that "the small number of countries who have a firm position against ever opening up whaling seem to be able to prevail upon the majority within that [like-minded] group" (Appendix 1.8.1.).

In another situation, a senior member of the Icelandic delegation states his view that the majority power in the Commission is a destructive force in the negotiation process within the IWC (Appendix 1.3.2). "The antechambers" that he refers to are apparently the meeting rooms of the members of the like-minded group who internally consult and then coordinate the subsequent behaviour of the members during the Commission's discussion. It has become apparent that one of the causes of the polarization stems from the formation of the "like-minded group", which discusses and coordinates its collective behaviour in order to most effectively use its majority power.

Another factor in the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings that needs to be further examined is the role of the NGO observers. NGO's participation at the meeting includes more than simply functioning as observers representing domestic interest groups. Rather, they serve as monitoring and reporting agents who frequently provide positive/negative reinforcement to the performance of government delegations speaking in the Commission. This reinforcement is carried out in different ways. One way is through the daily newsletter, ECO, that a group of anti-whaling NGOs publishes everyday during the meeting of the Commission. Evaluations of the performance by each of the government representatives are publically reported through this means. For example, the last page of ECO Vol.LXXVIII No.3 released on May 29, 1991 criticizes the position of the Danish delegation. The article notes that the Danish Parliament's Environmental Committee's resolution states that the Danish Government supports an extension of the moratorium but that Denmark's opening statement at this meeting of the Commission supports an ad hoc solution for JSTCW. It concludes "This appears to ECO to be acting against the instruction of the Danish Parliaments majority". Statements made by the delegation from Denmark later in the meeting indicates that the Government instruction was changed. This change in Government position may have resulted from the monitoring efforts of NGOs. The reinforcement provided by NGOs sometimes includes serious and intimidating threats made to members of the Commission[49].

Discussion of the causes of the polarization phenomenon in the Commission has revealed influential activities that are carried out in the back-stage of the IWC. The functioning of the "like-minded group" and NGO observers are important factors in the problematic polarization phenomenon seen in the Commission. Diagram 1 (p.222) summarizes the above findings and illustrates the inter-relationship of the activities that are carried out during the week of the IWC meeting.

The diagram shows the two stages in the Commission: the front stage and the back stage. On the front stage, the discussion takes place among the members of the Commission who are divided into two groups: the pro-whaling group and the anti-whaling group. As described above, NGO observers are part of the front stage scene as non-participating members of the front stage discussion. The members of the anti-whaling group, at the same time, compose the "like-minded group" which operates in the back stage. The back stage activities involve the NGO observers as active participants. While the discussion on the front stage is carried out, NGO observers engage in three tasks: 1) monitoring the performance of the members of the Commission, 2) providing information to the media and the general public, and 3) taking actions to influence the position of each government. The back stage activities are a significant part of the IWC dynamics, in that they are one of the main causes of the extreme polarization of the Commission.

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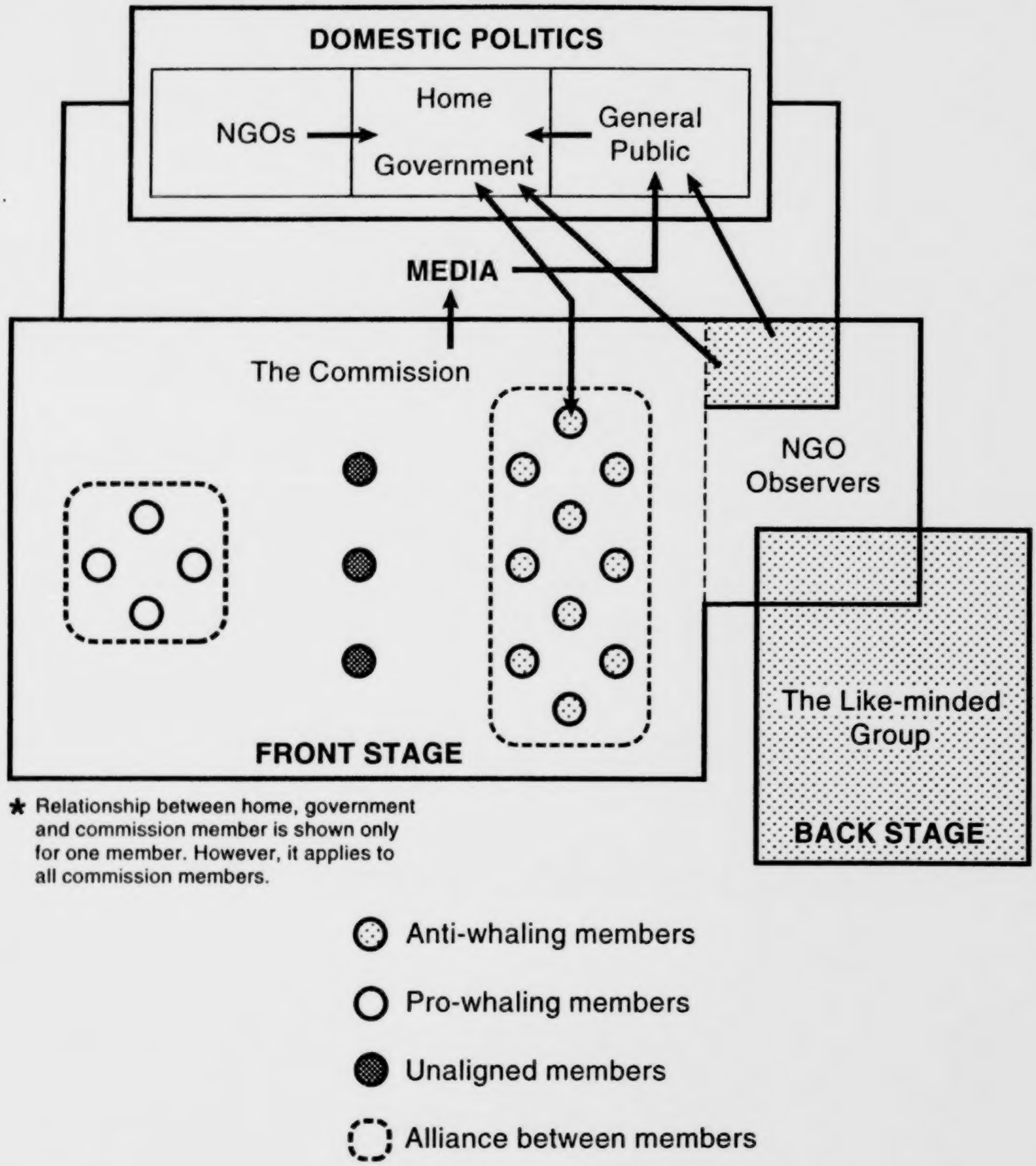
[49] There has been several incidents where NGO observers have made serious direct or indirect threats to members of the Commission as well as other NGO observers.

Diagram 1: The inter-relationship of the activities in the IWC


DOMESTIC POLITICS
NGOs
Home Government
General Public
MEDIA
The Commission
NGO Observers
The Like-minded Group
FRONT STAGE
BACK STAGE
Anti-whaling members
Pro-whaling members
Unaligned members
Alliance between members

★ Relationship between home, government and commission member is shown only for one member. However, it applies to all commission members.

D. Impacts of polarization in the IWC

Based on the analysis that was presented in Chapters 6 and 7, discussion in earlier sections of this chapter demonstrate: 1) how the local whaling operations in Ayukawa-hama, namely the STCW operations had played an essential part of the endogenous development in Ayukawa-hama and 2) how the IWC has been polarized as a result of the back-stage coordination among the anti-whaling countries. In this section, these findings will be examined in detail in order to further elaborate their implications to the present STCW debate and their consequent effect on the changing social, cultural and economic systems in Ayukawa-hama .

The ethnographic interviews which were presented in Chapter 6. C dealt with the STCW issue from the perspectives of the local people in Ayukawa-hama. It has become clear that the STCW operations have been the basis of their community development, in that the economic viability and the social and cultural vitality of the Ayukawa-hama community has been generated from the production, processing, distribution, consumption and ceremonial celebration of minke whales, which are the main target species of the STCW operation. Furthermore, the future survival of the community is largely dependent on the resumption of minke whaling, and the normalizing of STCW operations. The discussion has made it abundantly clear that the STCW issue is a serious social, cultural and economic issue for the people in Ayukawa-hama. From the perspective of the local people, it is the survival of their community that has been repeatedly threatened by the Commission.

The discussion of the interactional analysis of the IWC meetings provides a sufficient understanding of the nature of the present IWC and its functioning. Polarization has split the Commission into two groups, one of which is the majority anti-whaling group who uses its majority power to dominate the Commission's agenda and dictate the course of discussion and the consequent outcome. The back stage activities among the group of anti-whaling countries and the anti-whaling NGO observers contribute to the operational problems which seriously hinders the Commission's function. The lack of compromise or attempts to operate by consensus and the lack of meaningful discussion on substantive matters or negotiation effort between the pro-whaling countries and the anti-whaling countries in the Commission allows the majority position to consistently prevail over the minority interests.

The interactional analysis of the IWC meetings demonstrates that there are numerous negative consequences of the operational disfunction of the Commission related to other areas of its responsibilities. Firstly, the extreme polarization and consequent non-conciliatory manner in which the Commission operates has resulted in a Commission unable to make compromises to accommodate the various interests of its member countries. The Commission, in fact, has not sought to compromise on most of the conflicting issues involving whaling interests. A senior member of the Icelandic delegation stated in his final speech at the close of the Plenary session that:

> ...the majority within the Commission of what I consider moderate nations would have to choose between accommodating the views of extreme protectionists and those who wish to carry out scientifically-based conservative whaling. Too often over the past years the Commission appears to have chosen to favour the extreme group...(Appendix 1.10.1)

The above statement indicates that the Commission could have kept Iceland as a member, if it could have operated in a manner that allowed a compromise to accommodate the Icelandic interests.

Another serious implication of the operational disfunction of the Commission involves the question of the credibility of the IWC as a science-based resource management organization. As evident in the discussion concerning the adoption of the

Revised Management Procedure, the Commission has not accepted the unanimous advice of its Scientific Committee and postponed adoption of the completed Revised Management Procedure. This behaviour was repeated again at the 1992 and 1993 annual meetings, after which the Chairperson of the Scientific Committee announced his resignation as an expression of his dissatisfaction (Letter: P. Hammond to R.Gambell May 24, 1993).

The Commission has also repeatedly disregarded the rights of its member countries under the Convention. The countries who have been conducting scientific research on whales are, every year, subject to resolutions which urge reconsideration of the research operations. Such behaviour reflects the Commission's defiance of the legal rights of signatory countries to the Convention. The extreme polarization has, in these ways, been detrimental to the Commission as an international organization that was established for specific purposes under the International Convention for Regulation of Whaling. Regrettably, it has become a protectionist forum for self serving posturing by the countries presenting anti-whaling positions.

The disfunction of the Commission as a result of polarization has had serious implications for the people in Ayukawa-hama, because the outcome of the IWC annual meetings directly and immediately affect the local social, cultural and economic infrastructure of Ayukawa-hama[50]. The preceding discussion of the endogenous development made it clear that the people in Ayukawa-hama have successfully developed their community through a renovation of traditional social and cultural systems. The IWC's inability to solve the social and cultural problems that the moratorium has caused has left the people in Ayukawa-hama in a situation that will lead to the discontinuation of its whaling cultural tradition. Furthermore, the people in Ayukawa-hama now face a situation where, without a resolution of this problem, the almost-century-old endogenous community development based on STCW that they have innovatively engaged in will inevitably come to an end.

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[50] In his discussion of the IWC, Finn Lynge makes a similar point. He says that "To the Inuit and the coastal communities of the North, it is a struggle to defend a way of life and a culture close to the sea and all the good creatures from the deep"(1992:63).

The serious implications of the moratorium has been fully reported to the IWC at every annual meeting since 1989 when the Working Group on Socio-Economic Implications of a Zero-Catch Limit first met. Various documents reporting the findings of the social science research have been presented to the Commission every year since 1988. Thus, the Commission has been sufficiently informed that the STCW operations have played a socially, culturally and economically significant role in the STCW communities (Akimichi et al. 1988;Bestor 1989;Braund 1989,1990;Japan 1989a, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, 1991d, 1992a, 1992c, 1992d, 1992e, 1993a, 1993b). However, consideration of the STCW issues has been left with the Commission which has serious operational problems. Consequently, the Commission, after six years (till the 43rd Annual Meeting, and eight years till the present) of discussion of the STCW issues, is unable to constructively develop a solution to the problem that the moratorium on commercial whaling has created. In short, it is clear that the IWC has not been a useful forum for the resolution of the STCW issues that affect the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of the local people of Ayukawa-hama, and which the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling requires the IWC to appropriately address.

Throughout the debates related to the STCW issues, the people in Ayukawa-hama have not been merely passive victims affected by the IWC's decisions. Rather, they have been making conscious decisions based on their observations of the given situation and their judgement concerning alternative courses of action[51]. The people in Ayukawa-hama are sufficiently knowledgable of the state of the STCW issues. They have become aware of the nature of the IWC and its decision making process. Since 1989, community representatives have been attending the IWC meetings and participating in the discussions of the Working Group and observing discussions in the Technical Committee and the Plenary sessions. They are fully aware of the Commission's decision to accommodate the social and cultural needs of the Aboriginal/subsistence whalers and communities by exempting this form of whaling from the moratorium. They are also aware of the fact that, in the case of the Alaskan Eskimo whaling issue, special consideration for humane reasons, was given to this group of people, despite the threat continued whaling appeared to have on the seriously depleted whale stock that they have been harvesting. Moreover, the Ayukawa-hama representatives are aware of a discrepancy between the recommendations of the Scientific Committee and the outcome of the Commission's discussions that relate directly to their livelihood, including the moratorium decision itself which was passed by the Commission despite the lack of any recommendation from the Scientific Committee in support of such action. Furthermore, the Ayukawa-hama representatives have noted the Commission's vote against the Japanese request for fifty minke whales as an emergency relief allocation, despite the agreement in the Scientific Committee that this number was well below the most conservative estimate of replacement yield for the stock in question.

Persistent effort by the people in Ayukawa-hama to continue to seek an understanding of the social, cultural and economic need for the normalization of their STCW operations is firmly based on their conviction that the IWC's decision to ban minke whaling in their coastal waters is unwarranted. Furthermore, the moratorium has adversely affected the community development strategy through which the local people have endogenously developed Ayukawa-hama, utilizing the local whale resource. It is the local people's conviction that the deterioration of the social, cultural and economic systems of Ayukawa-hama can be only remedied by normalizing STCW operations.

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[51] The similar phenomenon is described by Anne Brydon who examined the recent situation in Iceland. She points out that the discussion concerning the continuation of whaling has become increasingly nationalistic (1990).

In conclusion, the disfunction of the Commission as a result of polarization between the pro-whaling minority and the anti-whaling majority groups has created two major issues. One is, needless to say, the future of the Ayukawa-hama community and in the larger context, Oshika-chō, which is striving to regain an indispensable social, cultural and economic base for the restructuring of the community. Another issue at stake is the credibility of the Commission as an international organization for the management of whale resources. As some members of the Commission repeatedly stated throughout the discussion that took place during the 43rd meeting, the present disfunction of the Commission is seriously threatening the future existence of the Commission (Appendix 1.3.1;Appendix 1.3.2, 1.7.1, 1.8.1).

Chapter 9. Conclusion

A. Introduction

This thesis has examined social and cultural change using macro- and micro level analysis of the STCW debate in the IWC. The frameworks for both the micro- and macro- levels of analysis were provided by the use of two theoretical approaches: the endogenous development model and the interactional analysis model. This two-level analysis made it possible to identify a number of important factors which form the core of the STCW issue. In this section, the findings of the analysis as well as the theoretical approaches that set the framework of the analysis will be summarized and related to other anthropological research on social and cultural change to demonstrate that the approaches used can contribute to understanding of change.

A brief review of the development of anthropology theories on social and cultural change was presented in Chapter 4. It was pointed out that the theoretical approaches to the study of social and cultural change have shifted significantly over the years: 1) the scope of study has shifted from a construction of human history to a limited scope of analysis of change phenomena within a social system, 2) the goal of the analysis had shifted from studying a general typology of change phenomena to a study focusing on the process of change, 3) in more recent studies, the unit of analysis has narrowed from a broad category of human groups to a locally-specified or ethnically identifiable group and there has been more emphasis on placing the local ethnographic scene within a national or international context, 4) historical consideration has become stressed in recent years, 5) the research area has become more specialized, and 6) the aspect of human consciousness in the process of change is given greater consideration (see Chapter 4.B.3. for a detailed discussion).

Abundant literature in applied anthropology, in which anthropological theories are practically applied to examine change situations in various contexts, makes it clear that change occurs in various forms, taking diverse courses. Some studies examine successful re-organization of the community using indigenous social and cultural resources (Chang 1989; Dei 1991;Green 1992). Other studies demonstrate the people's negative responses to the outside influence (Nash 1992), and their adaptive strategy to the given situation (Wong 1987; Levine et al. 1987;Devees and Hwakia 1988;Gailey 1992). There are also some studies that examine the aspect of selective choice (Kruse 1991;Ridgley and Brush 1992). Furthermore, Peter Vandergeest (1989), through a case study, points out the complexity and unpredictability involved in the change process.

Recognition of the complexity in the process of social, cultural and economic change is extremely important, in that it requires extensive and in-depth research of the given situation and an appropriate theoretical approach to analyze the collected data. The Japanese STCW issue is one such complex case where a wide range of factors concerning a number of organizations and individual actors needs to be examined. In this thesis, an attempt was made to conduct both an extensive and intensive examination, using both micro- and macro- level theoretical and methodological frameworks. The issues being examined have been formulated by the researcher's eight years of research which has involved intense interaction with the Japanese whalers and attendance at the meetings of the IWC.

Examination of the Japanese STCW issues, using the endogenous development model and the interactional analysis model, has produced findings which illustrates some principles of social and cultural change: 1) one generalization can be made concerning the nature of social and cultural change. The micro- and macro-level analysis made it clear that the social and cultural systems are extremely dynamic, in that both individual and collective effort is constantly made to improve the condition by incorporating the newly created options, 2) social and cultural change is generally created by the selective conscious choice of the people who are affected by the outcome of the action, and 3) the people make choices to reject some aspects of the newly introduced elements when they perceive them as threatening the maintenance of the essential elements of their existing social and cultural system and the consequent wellbeing of their community.

B. Change is the normal state of social and cultural systems, in that the people constantly evaluate the changing situation and make conscious adjustments.

Change is the normal state of social and cultural systems in which people live. The examination of the Japanese STCW issues has demonstrated that negotiation and accommodation are generally inherent within social and cultural dynamics. People are constantly seeking an appropriate response to the changing circumstances that physically and psychologically influence their lives. People use a familiar social and cultural repertoire, which guides them to chose what they believe to be the most appropriate option in dealing with changing circumstances. Thus, they make an appropriate decision according to their judgement concerning the newly created situations. Such a social and cultural system is not static, but a kinetic and flexible open system that people freely bend and stretch in accordance with the constantly changing circumstances (McDermott and Roth 1978). The kinetic nature of social and cultural systems will be examined using two examples from the results of the research.

The historical development of Ayukawa-hama provides a rich example of negotiations and accommodations in order to improve the social, cultural and economic conditions of the local people's lives. In every stage of its history since the establishment of the Ayukawa-hama community, the community people were actively engaged in making changes for the betterment of their community life. When the population tripled in a few years following the introduction of whaling to Ayukawa-hama in 1906, the community changed from being a small bonito fishing community to a thriving whaling community. In the process of this shift, the local people were actively involved in evaluating the situation, making adjustments to incorporate positive elements into the existing social, cultural and economic system. After the establishment of a whaling base in Ayukawa-hama, the local people took various innovative actions by utilizing the available whale resources in order to improve their lives. Fertilizer manufacturing, using the waste from the whale flensing operation, not only provided a new means to enrich the local social and economic systems, but also provided a solution to the pollution problem of the shore area. The establishment of Ayukawa Hogei Kabushiki kaisha (Ayukawa Whaling Corporation) to support the local fertilizer business, the establishment of other whaling-related businesses such as a whale meat cannery, whale craft making and restaurants were the ways in which the local people adaptively accommodated to changing circumstances.

As the local economic infrastructure went through changes over the years, the social and cultural systems in the local communities were reformed. For example, the local religious practices eventually adopted various rituals associated with whaling and whale product utilization. The local food culture has drastically changed, in that the locally produced whale meat and blubber was readily incorporated into everyday meals and ceremonial meals. Whale meat and blubber entered into the local gifting institution and became an indispensable gift item which mobilizes the gifting rituals in Ayukawa-hama. These social and cultural changes, responding to the changing circumstances, led to the formation of the local whaling culture, which distinguishes Ayukawa-hama from neighbouring communities.

While the introduction of whaling to Ayukawa-hama caused a drastic reorganization of the local social, cultural and economic systems, there arose serious concerns that a major part of the community's economic infrastructure continued to depend upon non-local investment, namely the LTCW operations (Chapter 5.B.3.c.). *Oshika-chō shi* describes various projects that were designed to improve the town's economic infrastructure in order to make it more independent: e.g. the construction of a concrete wharf and the improvement of the town water-supply system mainly for supplying water for ships. The emergence of STCW in 1931 is another example of such effort by the local people, thus creating an innovative type of locally-centred whaling that is mainly beneficial to the local community.

The local social, cultural and economic systems in Ayukawa-hama had been undergoing a series of changes in response to the constantly changing circumstances over the years; however, these developments have been planned and implemented by the local leaders who evaluated the existing situation, then considered the available options and made conscious decisions to take the best options for the betterment of the local people's lives.

The changing nature of the local social and cultural system should be examined in the light of more recent events occurring in Ayukawa-hama. The reduction of annual catch quotas for both LTCW and pelagic whaling was a clear indication to the local people that the whaling industry would be facing greater hardship in the future. In 1979, when Kinkasan was designated as a National Park, the local people drew up a development plan for their town whose economic infrastructure again needed to be strengthened. The plan was based on extensive promotion of local tourism, utilizing the newly-designated National Park as a principal resource, in combination with the now reduced-scale coastal whaling.

The plan to promote local tourism was implemented, first by the construction of Whale Land which demonstrates the kind of compromise that the local people have made by incorporating new views of whales into the existing cultural norm that the local people have traditionally fostered. This phenomenon is apparently causing a cultural conflict which is evident in the remarks that the local people make about their feelings toward Whale Land[52]. This phenomenon exemplifies the nature of adaptive response in the social and cultural system, in that the local social and cultural system seeks to accommodate a non-traditional view of whales which is added to the traditional view of whales.

Another example of compromise is seen in the local food culture, which has been rigidly maintained since the foundation of the whaling base in Ayukawa-hama. The imposition of the zero-catch limit on minke whaling caused a serious shortage of minke whale meat and blubber that had been an indispensable part of the local diet. The recurring remarks in the interviews with the local people indicates the social and cultural importance of fresh minke whale meat and blubber. The people in Ayukawa-hama have made a compromise in order to alleviate the stress caused by the unavailability of this important local food by receiving a share of frozen minke whale meat and blubber through the national distribution of the by-products of scientific research in the Antarctic. While they still consider fresh minke whale meat and blubber as the most preferred, some people have made a further compromise by accepting Baird's beaked whale meat in addition to the traditionally-preferred minke whale meat (Takahashi 1991).

In short, analysis of the historical development of Ayukawa-hama and the effort made by the local people to accommodate the new situation created by the moratorium has empirically illustrated the dynamic nature of the social and cultural system.

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[52] Mats Ris examined tourism development in the whaling communities in Northern Norway, where whale watching was recently introduced. He concludes that the whale watching operations there have met with cultural resistance (1993).

C. Social and cultural change occurs in a selective complex manner, in that various social and cultural elements will be differentially affected by the change process.

The process of social and cultural change follows a complex pattern, in that newly introduced elements do not uniformly affect the social and cultural system. Rather, various elements of the social and cultural system undergo change at various speed and in various degrees, thus forming the "icicle pattern" (Tsurumi 1975). An examination of the changing situation in Ayukawa-hama clearly demonstrated the validity of the icicle model that Tsurumi proposes as one element of endogenous development.

Throughout the development of the whaling industry in Ayukawa-hama, technological innovations were frequently seen. While certain aspects of whaling operations have been maintained with only minor modifications (e.g. the tools used for flensing whales), the overall whaling methods have gone through drastic changes from the net-whaling technology to the modern whaling method. The best example of such change is seen in the emergence of STCW in Ayukawa-hama as a result of combining the whaling technology used to catch pilot whales in Taiji and the cannon used in the modern Norwegian whaling operations. The STCW operations have undergone further technological modifications to increase operational efficiency and also to meet various regulations on whaling methods imposed by the IWC and the GOJ.

Such technological change subsequently created changes in other areas of the social and cultural system. The emergence of STCW prompted the involvement of local people as operators, crews, flensers, and as workers in other whaling-related activities. Thus, various activities related to STCW operations became closely integrated into the social, cultural and economic systems existing in Ayukawa-hama.

While the overview of these technical changes illustrates the dynamic nature of a social and cultural system that is extremely receptive to innovations, other aspects of whaling have been more resisted and slower to change. Various aspects involved in the consumption of whale product indicate that traditional importance of whale as a human food has been maintained throughout the history of whaling in Ayukawa-hama. Since the late Meiji era when LTCW bases were established, the whale-based local cuisine has gradually developed in Ayukawa-hama and the neighbouring communities. Despite the recent adaptations in the local people's diet, preference for traditionally preferred fresh minke whale meat and blubber, and the fundamental importance of whale meat and blubber as an indispensable part of the local cuisine in Ayukawa-hama has remained constant. Furthermore, it is interesting that the methods of cooking whale meat and blubber have gone through almost no change since the Meiji era (Tōhoku Shinbun June 22, 1906).

The consumption of whale meat and blubber in the local STCW community continued with little change in pattern until the supply suddenly ceased at the end of the 1987 whaling season. However, demand for minke whale meat and blubber for human consumption remained strong even after the cessation of all commercial whaling for minke whales as evidenced by the effort made by the Oshika township to obtain and distribute the by-product of the scientific research in the Antarctic throughout the Ayukawa-hama area (see footnote 33).

Another example of the selective manner of social and cultural change is seen in the exhibits displayed in Whale Land. The development of the new whale museum, Whale Land, presents an interesting example of the "icicle model", where a proud history of whaling and the newly imposed ideology of whales are displayed side by side. Numerous whale products, including processed whale meat sold at the museum shop, clearly shows the local importance of whales as reflected in the local cuisine, while the scientific exhibition of whale biology and the theme of the movies shown in the theatre present the non-local view of whales that originated in a Euro-American urban context.

Under the moratorium on commercial whaling, the local people have been making a substantial compromise to insure the survival of their community. Close examination of the present situation of Ayukawa-hama has revealed the co-existence of native and foreign views concerning whales and whaling.

D. Some aspects of change are resisted when members of a community perceive that accommodation to such changes will negatively affect the integrity of the existing social and cultural system.

Despite substantial effort in anthropology to examine change phenomena, there has been relatively little effort made to analyze the resistance phenomenon to change forces. Resistance by minority groups to acculturation and assimilation in order to maintain their identity is examined by Dozier (1961), Spicer (1961) and Wallace (1959). Caudill (1976) and Sofue (1976) examine the modern Japanese society and demonstrate that some traditional culural elements persist over the years. Levine (1985) points out a complexity in the change process, in that some apparent benefits of particular change may produce more contradiction and anomie within the community.

The examination of the STCW issues provides data to demonstrate how and why certain externally generated changes are resisted. In the case of Ayukawa-hama, the IWC decision to ban the minke whale catch in their coastal area is strongly resisted by the local people. Two different sources for this resistance have been analyzed in this thesis to demonstrate how and why the moratorium was rejected. One is evidently the direct impacts following the implementation of the moratorium upon Ayukawa-hama, and the other is the ideological and political conflict that is reflected in the interaction during the decision-making process at the IWC meetings.

The moratorium on commercial whaling has created a situation in Ayukawa-hama, where not only economic hardship is caused by job loss and other related disruptions to the local economic system, but also a series of serious negative impacts have affected the social and cultural system. The moratorium therefore, is not considered justified as an appropriate conservation measure, but rather is viewed as causing serious social and cultural damage to the well-being of the people in Ayukawa-hama. Furthermore, it is the local people's understanding that the minke whaling ban is quite unnecessary and that the local minke stock can safely sustain a modest harvest. Based on this understanding, the local people find the present situation under the moratorium unjust and unnecessary, thus acceptance of the present hardship is even more stressfull.

The historical accounts of the development of Ayukawa-hama demonstrate the kind of endogenous innovation that the local people have historically utilized in order to deal with changing circumstances. In the more recent past, the local people, using this endogeneity, have prepared themselves for the future reduction of whale catch quotas by developing a long-term town development plan based on tourism and a reduced level of coastal whaling caused by the end of LTCW operations. However, the moratorium which also banned their coastal minke whaling operations has created a situation where a number of existing and significant social relationships, local whale-based dietary and religious practices, and the economic infrastructure of the town have been very seriously impacted. The people in Ayukawa-hama perceive such a deteriorating and stressful situation as threatening to the very survival of their community (Chapter 6.C.).

While this evident deterioration of the local social, cultural and economic system is an overt reason for the local people's resentment toward and rejection of the moratorium, there are other aspects of the moratorium that they also resent. The local people have become aware of the foreign ideology concerning whales and whaling which serves as a foundation for the political actions leading to the moratorium decision. Such a foreign view of whales and whaling sharply contradicts the traditional view which has been fostered for generations among the Ayukawa-hama people. Furthermore, the anti-whaling movement, which was manifested in the moratorium decision, uncompromisingly condemns the whaling tradition upon which the people in Ayukawa-hama built their community. Many of the local people have been exposed to the negative propaganda concerning whaling, whalers, and whale-eating people promoted by the anti-whaling campaigns. The content of anti-whaling propaganda, from the local people's perspectives, denies the cultural heritage of the whaling communities and also denies the human dignity of whalers and the members of whaling communities. Such extreme accusations directed toward the whaling culture and tradition, promoted by the anti-whaling campaigns, is one of the most important aspects causing the local people's resentment toward the moratorium.

The local people have made the decision to reject the moratorium based on their judgement that the IWC's decision was unacceptably unreasonable. The interactional analysis of the IWC meetings demonstrates the dynamics of the decision making process which is characterized by extreme polarization, with the pro-whaling and anti-whaling groups exchanging statements, yet making little progress in understanding each others' positions. The majority of IWC members have made no compromises concerning the JSTCW issues, despite the efforts put forth at IWC meetings by the GOJ and representatives of the JSTCW communities over several years documenting the social, cultural and economic importance of STCW.

Their participation in and direct observation of the debates concerning the STCW issue at successive IWC meetings has contributed to the rejection of the IWC moratorium decision by the people of Ayukawa-hama. Indeed, the local people in

Ayukawa-hama have never been merely passive observers in the whaling debates. The STCW boat owners and the community leaders have been participating in the IWC meetings since 1988[53], have presented their case in the Working Group meetings and have observed the discussion at the Technical Committee meetings and the Plenary sessions. Their own experiences at the IWC have provided an important reason for their own and fellow community members' informed decision to reject the moratorium.

The analyses presented in this thesis have demonstrated that the group will consciously negotiate change and seek compromise in those areas which they view as non-threatening to the maintenance of their social and cultural core, while they are reluctant to accept the new ideology or material that may negatively affect the fundamental aspects of their social and cultural life. The examination of the STCW issue demonstrated that any newly-introduced ideologies or actions will be resisted by the group, if such innovations contradict the existing system in such a way as to negatively affect the core of the group's social and cultural system. Such innovations are resisted because the affected people perceive them as a threat to the survival of the group as a distinctive and cohesive unit.

In conclusion, the result of the present research concerning the Japanese STCW issue has provided some useful insight on the nature of social and cultural change. Three points are emphasized: 1) Change is the normal state of social and cultural systems, in that the people constantly evaluate the new situation and make conscious adjustment to it, 2) The social and cultural changes occur in a selective complex manner, in that various social and cultural elements will be differently affected by the change process, and 3) Some aspects of change are resisted when members of a community perceive that accommodation to such changes will negatively affect the integrity of the existing social and cultural system.

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[53] Before 1988, a smaller delegation composed of the president and the secretary general of the Japan Small-type Whaling Association represented STCW interests at the IWC.

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Appendix 1. Portion of the Verbatim Record from the 43rd Annual meeting of the IWC in 1991

1.1.1.

Australia
.....It's simply a question of expression, Mr. Chairman, but it seems to me that what actually happened was that Iceland expressed the view that UNCLOS [United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea] "requires" coastal states rather than "pointed out that" [coastal states]. Thank you, Mr.Chairman.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Thank you for the comment but I should ask Iceland if it feels comfortable with the proposed wording in his statement. Iceland.

Iceland
Yes, Mr.Chairman, that's a fact not necessarily a view. Thank you.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
New Zealand.

New Zealand
Thank you, Mr Chairman. I don't really want to get involved in legalities here, but I would suggest to Iceland it would have to be a view because it doesn't conform with the text of Article V[54] of the Law of the Sea Convention which says 'States shall cooperate with a view to the conservation of marine mammals and in the case of cetaceans shall in particular work through the appropriate international organisations for their conservation, management and study. That is the only fact that I'm aware of. Thank you.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Thank you, New Zealand. Well, we will have the chance to go back to the whole report at the plenary level which will just, you know, two seconds ahead, so maybe we should agree on the written form of this report and refrain from further comments.

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[54] According to the verbatim record, it is incorrectly recorded as "Article V". It should be Article 65.

Iceland
Mr Chairman, I can be very boring about the Law of the Sea, I assure you. Thank you, Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:49)

1.1.2.

USA
Mr.Chairman, two quite separate points. One going back to the Iceland statement in the Technical Report which notes that UNCLOS "requires" coastal states to decide, etc. I agree certainly with my colleague from New Zealand that is not the interpretation of the Law of the Sea Convention that I have, and as I expect he has, and I expect most of others have. I note , however, that the Law of the Sea Convention has been written in a sufficiently ambiguous way that many nations are allowed to interpret it in the ways they wish and certainly my Icelandic colleagues have been in the past shown somewhat greater imagination than many of us in so interpreting UNCLOS3 as well as UNCLOS1 and 2 going back to 1958 and 1960.

(Verbatim Record 1991:50)

1.2.1.

Brazil
.....I would propose, please, that it reads as follows. "Brazil noted from the Danish opening statement that Greenland's aboriginal whale meat need seemed to have increased from 400 to 670 tonnes. It wondered if modern methods of preservation might not justify a reduction in the latter figure.' And then, of course, the rest from Denmark.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Thank you, Brazil. Denmark.

Denmark
Mr.Chairman, I think it gives us a problem with respect to the drafting of the report, that's what we are doing now, because if we had understood at that time the Brazilian intervention to be what Brazil now is saying it was we would certainly have responded, because the need of 670 is not something which is increased. It is a need which was recognised by this Commission last year.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
I will have to rule here that the Brazilian statement, and it's reflected in the report now, is to our best what you said on the discussion of this, and in that respect I will rule that we'll keep your wording as it was taken by the Secretary and in the plenary when we review again this, which is just 30 seconds ahead, you will have the chance to make your point. And then Denmark will have the chance to reply. Brazil.

Brazil
Thank you, Mr.Chairman. Yes, I do understand that this is a problem, and there is a word that I would like to change if that can help Denmark. I am not comfortable with it myself and it's the word 'increase'. If I could think of something else, but as it's a diplomatic word I would need a few minutes. Would that be all right for Denmark? Thank you.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Denmark.

Denmark
Mr.Chairman, we find it quite difficult to respond so quickly to the Brazilian proposal. We hardly had time to note your first proposed text and we are now in the totally new ball game, and if we have to rewrite the whole thing which went on yesterday, which didn't go on after all, we find it very difficult. So we would suggest that we stick to the text as it is and we come back to the substantial comments a bit later. Thank you.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Thank you, Denmark. Brazil.

Brazil
OK, yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairperson of the Technical Committee
Thank you, Brazil. Then the text will remain as it is now in the report.....

(Verbatim Record 1991:53,54)

1.3.1.

Japan
Mr.Chairman, I like to express my sincere appreciation to the very warm comments made by our colleagues from St.Vincent and The Grenadines and

St.Lucia and Iceland. Mr.Chairman, this Commission takes up the subject of humane killing as a very important one. At the same time I believe that humaneness on human beings should be considered almost at the same level. In consideration of these I believe that minke whaling by Norway and Iceland should be considered in the same context as the case we are presenting with regard to the small-type coastal whaling off Japan. As we have heard at the Working Group for the Small-type Coastal Whaling and the Socio-economic Implications, it has been four years already since the implementation of the moratorium was imposed on the small-type coastal whaling off Japan. In spite of the fact that time has been lapsed the effect of the moratorium became severer year after year, We conducted the sightings survey up to last year and, based on these sightings surveys, the population size of the minke whales in question have been assessed to be more than 20,000 in the area and at the Comprehensive Assessment conducted by the Scientific Committee this year a population estimate based on the analysis which have incorporated all the possible biological cases, the replacement yield at the very conservative level has been attained to be 209 whales. Under these circumstances the delegation of Japan has considered the importance of the socio-cultural and economic significance on which the local small coastal whaling communities have heavily depended upon, and in the view that the very serious and tragic influence has been inflicted upon these communities we are asking for the emergency relief quota of 50 minke whales under this agenda item.

We have been requesting the Commission the emergency relief quota for the small-type coastal whaling of Japan every year since four years ago. At the meeting last year the Commission told us that it would depend on the result of the Comprehensive Assessment of the stocks in question and also it will depend on the adoption of the Revised Management Procedure. And therefore we waited for another year. This year the Comprehensive Assessment was conducted by the Scientific Committee and the Revised Management Procedure is likely to be adopted within this year. However, it seems that according to the time schedule suggested by the Scientific Committee the Revised Management Procedure will not be ready to be implemented to this stock in question within the foreseeable future. Mr.Chairman, the inability of the Commission to resolve this question which has been over and over presented to the Commission and continuation of the present condition and situation indefinitely would preclude the maintenance of our trust in the ability of the Commission, and it is a very critical matter.

Mr.Chairman, the colleagues from Denmark at the Working Group saw the need of such whaling activities as has been presented in the case of small-type coastal whaling and also at the opening statement given by Denmark to this meeting says that those whaling activities which have been going on since the time before the World War Two should have some allowance and consideration for the new category, and we fully support this way of thinking. Mr.Chairman, the details of our request for the emergency relief quota for the small-type coastal whaling is described in document IWC/43/25. I hope for the serious consideration of the members of the Commission on this matter. Thank you.

(Verbatim Record 1991:77,78)

1.3.2.

Iceland
Yes, thank you, Chairman. Mr. Chairman, yesterday the Commissioner of the United States was, I think pressing Iceland for its imagination in various other fora dealing with Law of the Sea matters. So I think perhaps we could consider ourselves as experts on imagination and I'm therefore able to assess that this organisation is clearly one which has a near total lack of imagination. We come here every year and go through the Agenda Item 10.1.2, 10.2.3 and so forth, action arising, move back and forth to Commissioner meetings, look through these proposals after having spent what most people consider quite a boring week of Working Groups. Mr.Chairman, this organisation is completely stultified. The reason for that is perhaps, well, two-fold. First of all - I've identified it in the Technical Committee - What I see the automatic majority which can be developed around any particular proposal. That's fair enough - there is easy entry to this organisation and there should be no difficulty in establishing a majority around any position which is shared in the world community. The problem, Mr.Chairman, for this organisation is not that, but rather that there's no debate which takes place between that majority and the others who might have legitimate interests and, in fact,

legitimate interests which many in the majority would be pleased to take account of. The reason for that is that this discussion takes place in antechambers and the discussion here is choreographed in those antechambers. One after another this person is to take this step, another person is to take that step, and there is as a result no debate at all within the plenary. The second reason I think, Mr.Chairman, is the motives which have been identified within the schedules that we operate under and I wonder what national government would accept the constraints which are established by those provisions when a clear need can be demonstrated, when everybody knows that there will be no danger to the various stocks concerned and nonetheless one is completely constrained by certain words which cannot be changed easily and particularly because of the situation I mentioned before.

Mr. Chairman, in this organization we can probably identify three periods. The first period, admittedly, a period when whaling was not sufficiently regulated. The second period was a period of concern amongst a number of members of this organization to try to establish some kind of control over that unrestricted whaling. And the third was the period which began in 1982 with implementation from 1986 in which it can be said that the efforts have been quite successful to deal with the problems of the first period. Mr. Chairman, problems which will not return. But nonetheless we seem to be acting at this third period as if the first period were still going on. Mr. Chariman, I think we should develop plans for a fourth period - a fourth period when we can cooperate in a decent manner to take account of the interests such as we have had identified before and, Mr. Chairman, I hope we can do better than the Human Rights Commission does in the protection of human rights. Thank you, Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:80, 81)

1.3.3.

India
Thank you, Chairman. I agree with this US view and I would also like to comment on one new concept which has been introduced. It is a comment on humaneness to human beings. That is why ???? doesn't belong to the Whaling Commission because

that is not the Whaling Commission's subject. That belongs to the Human Right Commission so I don't know whether that concept can be introduced in the Whaling Commission at all. Thank you.

St.Vincent and The Grenadines
Thank you, Mr.Chairman. Mr.Chairman, I can't resist a comment on the last intervention by the Commissioner from India because I always thought that we in this Commission were specifically dealing with the human rights of human beings to manage the resource of whales and whale stocks. But I think he has perhaps hit on one of the main problems underlying a lot of the lack of progress that is often made in this Commission, and I just wonder that until we really deal with this fundamental matter how much progress we will ever make. Thank you, Mr.Chairman.

India
Thank you, Chairman. My friend of St.Lucia has taken me in a different light. I only gave response to the new concept which some people are, you know, putting it, because I have a feeling that, you know, the Whaling Commission had got a different parameter than the Human Right Commission. So Whaling Commission is working within one parameter and if you are bringing another parameter into it then perhaps we have to go to the Human Rights Commission also for their recommendation.

Chairman
Thank you, Japan.

Japan
.....I like to respond to the intervention by the Indian Commissioner. Perhaps we have to remind him that the quota given to aboriginal subsistence whaling in based on the humanity, not only whales' stock level which have been classified to be protected. It was a humanity question rather than a whaling question. Thank you.

Chairman
Thank you, Japan. Any further comments? India.

India
Thank you, Chairman. I think the Commissioner of Japan is misunderstanding me. What I mean to say is that the Whaling Commission has set up some parameters so this Whaling Commission has always accepted our original thing, but if we have now to bring in a new category, that will be completely

new procedural aspect, and to that extent I support the US and the UK position.

Japan
Mr.Chairman, in response to the intervention by the Indian Commissioner, I have to perhaps ask him to note all the past records of the Commission since 1986 throughout which the Commission has been seriously considering the case presented by Japan. You are here for the first time, and perhaps you are not knowledgeable about the past history. However, the Commission itself has been taking a very serious stance about this case that we have been presenting. Thank you.

(Verbatim Record 1991:79-83)

1.4.1.

Iceland
Yes, thank you, Mr.Chairman. Mr.Chairman, we have already in the earlier meeting on this item applauded the Japanese Government for the research which is being undertaken and which is subject of the Resolution before us, and we've noted that it is solely the Japanese research activities on these whale stocks which make a contribution to the knowledge of these stocks. Seeing now the Resolution before us we must only recall the general attitude of Iceland towards Resolution of this kind. We consider them to be *ultra vires* to the organization, taking into account the provisions of Article VIII. Structurally, Mr.Chairman, looking at the fifth Whereas clause after having plodded through the first four Whereas clauses, one wonders why - after that clause when reference is made to Article VIII - the Commission therefore does anything, because as stated in that paragraph it is the prerogative of the Contracting Government to issue these permits. The fundamental flaw in the Considering clause is that, in practice, it gives every individual in the Scientific Committee a veto on the right of the coastal state contained in Article VIII. This in fact is the nature of the Scientific Committee today, unfortunately. So, aside from the questions of general principle - and in fact we also have some problems with the grammar of that clause which if it were to be taken seriously would be seen to be absolutely impossible to implement - but, as I say Mr.Chairman, we regard Resolutions of this kind to be illegal for the organization to adopt and we'll vote against it. Thank you, Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:108)

1.4.2.

New Zealand
Thank you, Mr.Chairman. I wouldn't like it to be thought that because only Article VIII of the Convention is mentioned in this Resolution that therefore that is the only binding commitment on contracting states. That is, of course, not the case. There are two binding commitments:Article VIII of the Convention and Article 30 of the Schedule which stipulates that a Contracting Government shall provide the Secretary of the Commission with proposed scientific permits before they are issued. In sufficient time they should specify objectives of the research, etc etc. They shall be reviewed and commented on by the Scientific Committee at annual meetings, and so on. So those, the Schedule, has equal binding force with the Convention. It is equal to and not less than the Convention. So there are two binding forces. And then in addition, of course - we are also not legally bound but we have certain guidelines in the form of our Rules of Procedure which under Scientific Committee rules provides for the review of scientific permits - and then we have a number of Resolutions back to 1986 which [we] have adopted and approved and which have the force of recommendation. So to suggest that it is all wrapped up in Article VIII is not in accordance with the views of the New Zealand delegation and I would just simply like to make this clear at this point. Thank you.

Chairperson
Iceland.

Iceland
Mr.Chairman, as usual I listened with interest to the intervention of the Commissioner of New Zealand, but do I understand him to say that Japan has breached its obligations under paragraph 30 of the Schedule? Thank you, Chairman.

Chairperson
New Zealand.

New Zealand
I think there must be some failure in communication, Mr.Chairman. I don't think I said anything that suggested that anybody had breached their obligations. I was simply trying to clarify

a situation which seemed to become slightly distorted, but I am not making any accusations against any state represented here. Thank you.

Chairperson
US.

USA
Mr.Chairman, in this respect the US would like to draw attention to Article VI wherein the Commission may from time to time make recommendations to any or all Contracting Governments on any matters which relate to whale and whaling and to objectives and purposes of this Convention. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:108,109)

1.5.1.

Denmark
Mr.Chairman. This resolution text IWC/43/41 was distributed this morning at 8:42 a.m. in the pigeonholes by Mrs. C from the IWC Secretariat. As you know the Rules of Procedure say that unless copies of this resolution have been circulated to all delegations no later than the day preceding the Plenary session as a general rule no proposal should be discussed. This very late distribution puts my delegation in an impossible situation. We are working with the so-called like-minded group, it's like working with Icelandic geyser, you never really know when they are able to produce and bizarre enough - my Minister of Foreign Affairs has not been sitting waiting by the phone until the like-minded group was able to produce. If you continue with this discussion at this moment Mr.Chairman you put my delegation in an impossible situation and we want this to be clear for everybody. We cannot discuss this at this very moment and we suggest that at the very least that the discussion is postponed until after the lunch break. Thank you.

Chairperson
Thank you. If we look at Rules of Procedure, page 12, B1, it states "As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed at any plenary session unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations no later than the day preceding the plenary session. The presiding officer may, however, permit the discussion and consideration of

amendments, or motions as to procedure, even though such amendments, or motions have not been circulated previously". Australia.

Australia
Mr.Chairman I need some advice. I understand the difficulties that may be facing the Danish delegation if indeed they did get it or claim that it was in at 8:42 but my understanding is that this resolution was in fact distributed late I agree but late last evening. Thank you Mr.Chairman.

Chairperson
Denmark.

Denmark
I am sorry, Mr.Chairman. I was personally watching when this distribution was distributed because I believed we were involved in discussion with the so-called like-minded group and other delegations on the very development of this text and I was surprised we hadn't found it. I can assure you I received it at 8:42. It was faxed immediately to my Minister of Foreign Affairs so the timing is absolutely correct. But it is written on the bottom of this page by the same computer as had written the rest of the text and it doesn't reflect the actual situation. You have to take my word for it Mr.Chairman. It was distributed exactly at 8:42 a.m. on 31 May 1991 in the pigeonholes and I want this to be recorded. Thank you.

Chairperson
Thank you. UK.

UK
Mr.Chairman if I might point out that the distribution my colleague from Denmark is referring to was a secondary distribution. I personally put the resolution in peoples' boxes last night before I had finished my work and so I can tell you they were in as stated and I would also hope that you could observe the rules as you did yesterday that exceptions can be made, because as you will appreciate a number of Commissioners worked extremely hard to find a text that might be acceptable to all the Commission, and if it is late it is because it is of our earnest intention to achieve something and I think in fact since it was in heads of delegations' pigeon holes last night. We are within the rules. Thank you.

Chairperson
Thank you. I have two speakers on my list - Denmark and Norway and after that I will make a ruling.

Denmark
Unfortunately then if this is true it has been removed from the Danish delegation and it has put us in exactly the same situation as I described and it was absolutely not to be found in our pigeonhole neither last night or this morning. Thank you.

Chairperson
Norway.

Norway
Well, Mr.Chairman. I would like to say that I totally completely support the views expressed by our Danish colleague and I do contest what was just said by the UK Commissioner. I mean when we talk in the Rules of Procedure of submitting, introducing draft resolution, we are talking about a time of the day where people are normally awake. This resolution was submitted, I don't know if it was submitted, I suspect it was printed at 11:45 p.m. that is a quarter to midnight. That is not the proper hour to submit a draft resolution unless one has a sitting in a night meeting which was not the case at that hour yesterday, so I will try and cooperate with you Mr.Chairman. I think you are right in suggesting that we may have this resolution now introduced and maybe discussed but in all fairness to the Danish delegation and others, I am sure there are more delegations who are in a similar position, and who were not able to see this resolution until 8:42 this morning, so that the voting at any rate will be postponed until after lunch. Thank you.

Chairperson
Considering that we are approaching lunch time and as I guess that the Danish delegation would accept that we deal with it in perhaps the voting matter after lunch. I will permit discussions - an introduction and discussions before lunch and then we break for lunch break. Australia.

(Verbatim Record 1991:134,135)

1.6.1.

Australia

.....Whatever the faults in retrospect, the New Management Procedure represented a major advance in the Commission's approach to the management of whale stocks and change in perspective that had continued to develop. Even as they were being implemented however it became clear that there were serious problems with the New Management Procedure in data requirements and availability and certainty in estimates and classifications and the risk of depleting stocks. Attempts at revision began in 1978 and continues through the period in which the moratorium decision was passed in 1982. Simulation studies of the effects of the application of the new management procedure by Bill de la Mare presented to the Scientific Committee in 1984 were an important step forward in the process of the revision of the procedure. As Geoff Kirkwood had said so clearly in his final report on the development of the revised management procedures, a satisfactory revised management procedure must be able to meet the Commission's management objectives and it must do so regardless of existing and continuing uncertainties in the basic data, stock identity and dynamics of whale populations. We are seeking a management procedure that is robust to these uncertainties.

Whether or not a procedure is robust can only be determined by examining its performance across a wide range of plausible situations. Since experimental application of the potential procedures to actual whale stocks is clearly out of the question, the approach has been taken to simulate the management of whale stocks. The series of working groups, sub-committees and other aggregations that have examined the issues have now come to fruition with I think inadequate advice and guidance from the Commission on important issues such as the weighting to be applied in the three management objectives that we had managed to agree. Despite that, the management procedures working group vigorously tested and reviewed the five procedures that had been developed. It has now, perhaps earlier than some of us had thought possible at this time last year, provided advice. The Scientific Committee, emphasising that all five procedures performed satisfactorily in single stock trials, has agreed that no single procedure performed uniformly best over all trials and all tunings but it had recommended the C-procedure for acceptance by the Commission. A concern amongst some members that the procedure can in some circumstances lead to continued catches from a proportion of stocks below levels at which they would have been protected under the current schedule provisions has lead to the suggestion that the question of protection levels be further examined by the Scientific Committee and guidance provided to the Commission for consideration next year. It is clear that the work required for that and the other specific single stock trials and development of multiple stock applications required will not be accommodated in the normal meeting of the Committee and that an inter-sessional meeting may be required. It is clear that there are difficult questions to be resolved both within those countries committed to the resumption of commercial whaling and others such as Australia. There are important matters of principle to be addressed by my Government as well as the more direct and urgent matters of implementation of the best advice we have available. That would also allow time for Governments to consider in more depth the consequences of the advice on protection levels in particular so that they are in a position to deal substantially with the issue in this Commission.....

(Verbatim Record 1991:136)

1.7.1.

Denmark

Thank you, Mr.Chairman. I ask the floor in response to the interventions by Australia and United States as to the lateness of the arrival of this proposal. In the wording it should have delayed because there had been widespread consultations in order to reach a consensus. I can assure the Commission that these consultations have not taken place with Denmark. We were left out of the discussion last night in the same elegant way as we were left out of the so-called like-minded group, we were just not consulted any more and we just did not receive any other papers and to my best belief none of the former whaling nations were informed to or consulted either. The reason for the lateness of this proposal is that there were strong disagreements within the like-minded group. Some of these nations cannot accept the fact that the Scientific Committee almost unanimously has come up with a recommendation for a new management procedure, the so-called Cooke procedure and they will use any element to prolong the process of developing a new Revised Management Procedure. This development makes the situation impossible for the former whaling nations and is to our best belief a tactic which may be the final step which undermines the work of the International Whaling Commission. Denmark has worked very hard to reach a consensus in this absolutely vital issue of the IWC. A consensus was not wanted by some of the nations present in this room and we deeply regret that fact. Thank you.

(Verbatim Record 1991:140)

1.8.1.

Iceland
Yes, thank you, Chairman. Mr. Chairman, the closer we get to the end of our meeting the more necessary it is to be completely frank in the statement of our views. Mr.Chairman, even if the Resolution proposed by Iceland, Norway and Japan had been accepted, which involved accepting totally the recommendation of the Scientific Committee and providing that the necessary work for the implementation of the Cooke procedure would be completed for the Southern Hemisphere and North Atlantic minke whales at the 1992 meeting, even then, Mr.Chairman, we would not have been secure that some efforts would not have been made in the intervening year to sabotage that approach. It is in the nature of the work which is being planned that a great number of opportunities are presented for raising questions, throwing up smoke screens, raising doubts about the conservative elements of the recommended procedures, such that even when arrived here at the 1992 meeting it would have been possible to point to so many caveats in the process such that a political decision on the opening up of commercial whaling would have been made nearly impossible for countries which have a position including those who propose a worldwide ban on commercial whaling. I should now like to compare that situation with the situation which would result if the amendment of the proposal before us were to be adopted.

Here we see an even greater number of possibilities to retard the process. Already reference had been made to the fact that no schedule is set out specifically in the Resolution. I note with interest that the Commissioner of the United States has referred to the Committee report which does include the schedule on page 11, the third paragraph, which would result, if the Commission so requested, in the completion of the process for the Southern Hemisphere and the North Atlantic minke whales. I also note that the proposal by the Commissioner of Sweden to which reference had been made earlier by the Commissioner of Australia, that an intercessional meeting would be useful in order to achieve these aims. Both these points are very important to our delegation in the assessment of the Resolution. I spoke before of the many possibilities found in the Resolution for delay and procrastination. I should refer first to the first 'agrees' clause, paragraph 3. We have been assured that this was a relatively simple change in the Cooke procedure involving a change from the figure 50 to the figure 54 within that process, and I hope that can be understood as the sole intent of the paragraph, I fear that many of the more legalistically inclined scientists would find another interpretation for that clause and I hope that tendency can be resisted when the time comes. Even more concern is the second 'agrees' paragraph, and of special concern is the link between the implementation of the Revised Management Procedures and this paragraph which may require some looping back into the process and further delay. I see the reference to 'significantly below the protection level of 54% would also give some opportunity to delay work and certainly to present a report which would make it very difficult for the Commission at its next Annual Meeting to deal responsibly with this situation.

Mr.Chairman, how have we reached the situation that we have this resolution before us? The Commissioner from Denmark has quite colourfully pointed out his experience of the working of the like-minded group as a former member of that group. I didn't know, in fact, that he had been so unceremoniously prevented from participating further. But over the past two or three days we have witnessed an effort to start negotiations for a new type of relationship within the International Whaling Commission and I know all Commissioners here would applaud the work of the Commissioner of the United States in that regard, whom I believe was sincerely interested in achieving the new relationships between the members of [this] organization. I can easily identify the source of some of these points. I recognise efforts were made to minimise the possible adverse effects of these points, but it seems to me that once again the Commission as a body is being wagged by its tail. The small number of countries who have a firm position against ever opening up whaling seem to be able to prevail upon the majority within that group I mentioned before and thereafter without any debate in the Commission itself. This type of policy must be seen as totally intolerable to Iceland whose attitude towards conservation of marine mammals and other marine resources should by now known to all parties here. It is a fear that reaching this position next year once again it is impossible under the structure of this organisation with the essentially four day period to engage in serious negotiations, that we cannot accept a proposal of this kind. Thank you, Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:143,144)

1.9.1.

New Zealand
Thank you very much, Mr.Chairman. New Zealand abstained in the vote we have just held and I would like to explain why. This is the first time I have spoken under this item and if you would allow me I would like to deal with our position, or explain our position, which leads into the reason why we abstained and so if you can give me a minute or two to do it. New Zealand policy doesn't favour the resumption of commercial whaling. We have arrived at this position because of concern about the degradation of the environment and because of our desire to preserve the great natural resources that are an integral part of it. We should be pleased if all other countries shared this point of view but they don't and we have therefore to try to find whatever measure of agreement exists within the provisions of the 1946 Convention to guide us through the difficult period ahead. The question of management procedures is undoubtedly the most complicated, confusing and important one to come before the Commission during my term as Commissioner. Time is needed to understand it. We are under pressure to get a management procedure up and running very quickly. I would wish nevertheless to take a few minutes to explain how New Zealand sees the present position.

The reality behind it is that the world has changed a good deal since 1946 but the Convention hasn't.

It's still the same Convention incorporating principles laid down 45 years ago by a relatively small group of whaling countries. Those principles were appropriate to the era in which they were drafted. In 1946 whaling was universally regarded as adventurous and acceptable and whale stocks as virtually inexhaustible. It's a different story today. The presence at this meeting of so many NGOs, no doubt at considerable cost and inconvenience to themselves, demonstrates the strength of public opinion in many countries and the concern that is shared for the future of the whales. I could perhaps also note that the membership of IWC includes all the whaling countries but only some of the conservationist-minded countries. It doesn't necessarily therefore reflect the world at large. As founder members of this organisation, however, we are loyal members and we are trying to work within its rules and regulations even when they don't exactly accord with our national policies and priorities. Up to this point the IWC Convention has shown itself sufficiently flexible to meet changing circumstances and I quote by way of example the delayed but eventually positive response to the call of the 1972 United Nations Conference for a moratorium on commercial whaling. In one way, therefore, the Convention had stood the test of time. We certainly don't see the need to revise the Convention or replace the IWC with another organization, but the question remains whether the IWC is going to be sufficiently adaptable to face the challenges of the future of a Revised Management Procedure.

This is the third time the organisation has tried to put in place the key element in its work represented by this procedure. As we all know, the first attempt based on the blue whale unit was an unmitigated disaster. The second, the New Management Procedure, was fatally flawed and continued the process of depletion of whale stocks. We now have one more chance and if we get it wrong it will be our last chance. For this reason it's essential in our view to ensure that full consideration is given to all aspects, that all the tests are carried out, and that the implementation arrangements are fully worked out. We must not allow ourselves to be stampeded into hasty or premature decisions. The Scientific Committee has recommended that we now accept the C procedure as the basis for our future work and this has been endorsed by the Resolution just adopted subject to some provisos. The procedure is an extremely sophisticated procedure and is not easy to comprehend. I have had the benefit of two briefings from the distinguished Chairman of the Sub-committee and I can only say that I am still confused but at a higher level. I think I can say with 51% confidence that I understand the basic approaches that are followed. I quail at the thought of having to try to explain this procedure to my authorities and I can assure you that the general public will never understand it. They will react to its product in the form of whales proposed to be taken, and I suspect they won't like a fair bit of what they see. Inasmuch as I can make a judgement I'd have to say that the management procedure appears to be very much like the curate's egg - good in parts and not so good in others. For the good news first, it does appear to provide a better measure of protection for depleted stocks than the old NMP and it contains measure derived from experience which should reinforce this. As for example the proposal to tie quotas to much smaller geographic areas than in the past. The not-so-good elements seem to derive largely from the attempt to apply one uniform approach to all whale stocks regardless of their depletion or relative abundance. We recognise the administrative advantages of having one formula applicable to single stock of all species and all areas and I'm not too surprised by this emphasis on uniformity, but efficiency isn't everything.

If I could just say as an aside, it might be scientifically more efficient if people could be gradually genetically harmonised so that we all finished up the same size and shape and wearing the same clothes and having the same tastes, but it wouldn't be very interesting. I sometimes wonder also whether the beauty of the smoothly functioning mathematical model may at times blind the operator to the lethal effects of its application out in the field. Perhaps for all these reasons Contracting Governments of this organisation decided in the Convention that, although decisions should be based on Scientific advice, the decisions themselves should be made by Commissioners who have to take account of much broader considerations. Uniformity through the management procedure approach is in practice achieved through the construction of a sort of scientific procrustean bed. I have only fading memories of the Greek legends of my childhood but as I recall one legend was about a gentleman by the name of Procustes who was in the habit of offering overnight shelter to weary travellers. The only snag was that they found they had to fit the bed provided. If they were too short they were stretched up to the right size. If they were too tall they were chopped down to size. Now the Scientific Committee's proposal for whales is not quite as harsh as Procrastes had in mind in one direction. It does seek to ensure that depleted stocks will be allowed to recover and build up to a target population level by their own means. It's not entirely clear to me when whaling should actually be allowed to resume under this model, but I have fewer problems with this aspect of the management procedure.

I must say quite frankly, however, that New Zealand has serious problems with the Cooke model, even with the guidelines provided in the Resolution just adopted. The major stumbling block for us is that if the population is above a certain target population size it has to be depleted or tuned, to use the approved expression, over a period of time until the population level conforms with a standard pattern. Although a good deal is talked about sustainability of yield, it seems to us that no importance at all has been attached to sustainability of existing stocks. Applied to the Southern Hemisphere minke whales, a subject of particular interest to New Zealand, a stock which is the last great whale stock on earth and in a region where more and more nations are coming around to the view that its resources should be preserved for all time, the result of this procedure would be (assuming the option of the highest population target level which was suggested in the Resolution just adopted) the reduction of those stocks over time by well over 100,000 whales. This is out of a stock of 400,000 or so mature animals. The lower population target level preferred in the first Resolution we voted on would result in much greater removal. No matter how scientifically sensible that may seem it will appear to the people in New Zealand that we are repeating past mistakes all over again, playing God and reshaping the environment. It will also, I must say, seem to people in New Zealand that the Northern Hemisphere whaling countries, having ruined the stocks in their own hemisphere by over-fishing, are now planning to make massive inroads into the Southern Hemisphere minke whale population, and all that with the blessing of the International Whaling Commission. I would have to say frankly that in this respect it may be a

Revised Management Procedure but it doesn't look like a very safe management procedure. If I am right in my assessment then I'd have to say very bluntly that, although what is proposed may seem sensible and acceptable to the majority of the Scientific Committee who proposed it, in my country it's not politically acceptable. I'm well aware that there's more work to be done but until the proposed procedure is more fully developed and applied to multi-stocks and we can see more clearly how the system is going to work out in practice, my delegation had no choice but to attach a reservation and is not in a position to endorse even as the core single management procedure a system which is fraught with such grave implications for the last great whale stock. Thank you, Sir.

(Verbatim Record 1991:145-147)

1.10.1.

Iceland
Mr.Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to present the viewpoints of the delegation of Iceland, our position towards the International Whaling Commission. Mr.Chairman, when we decided two years ago to invite the Commission to hold its Annual Meeting here in Reykjavik we were, of course, first of all motivated by the desire to have the members of the Commission and the representatives of the Non-Governmental Organisations come here and see for themselves how important it was to Icelanders to take a rational attitude towards the management of all marine resources. But a secondary motive, Mr.Chairman, was to allow the Icelandic public to see better for themselves what can happen at meetings of the Commission and see for themselves the structure under which we live. Many Icelanders have found it difficult to imagine how states so well-known for responsible attitudes in international relations in general and towards international organisations in particular could end up conducting themselves in this organisation as we have described to our public in past years. Now, one aspect of this perception problem is that much of the activity to which we object in fact takes place even subterraneously, even involving the work of a kind of fifth column in the Scientific Committee which assiduously works to prevent the reaching of consensus decisions, and even when a majority

decision cannot be prevented these members insert a sentence here and a sentence there which, lo and behold, are resuscitated in the Commission to justify taking decisions here which are contrary to the advice of the Scientific Committee.

I should also like to comment on the role of the press in this perception problem, and in fact a third reason why we considered it advisable to invite the Commission to meet here was that during meetings of the IWC we have in attendance representatives of the serious press, and those writing on the question here in Iceland need not rely solely on the anti-whaling news network for the often distorted version of the facts. Mr.Chairman, I think it was very useful when we heard yesterday statements by one Commissioner and another today referring to the policies of their countries which involved, in fact, a total ban on commercial whaling. Mr.Chairman, it is not for us to dictate the policy of other governments not to seek to prevent them from expressing these policies in this Commission, for after all it is a political organisation.

But can a country like Iceland seriously be expected to subordinate its vital interests, for example, to how successful the Commissioners of such governments are in establishing a balance between their national policies and their assessment of what constitutes constructive work or loyalty to this organisation. Mr. Chairman, I think it is important at this point that I try to put Iceland's policy on whaling in the perspective of Iceland's environmental policy as a whole. I hope that representatives here have had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the attitudes of the Icelandic authorities and the Icelandic public in general towards environmental concerns. On the international plane, indeed, Iceland had been considered to have played a leading role. We cannot accept that our views of whaling should be seen otherwise than as a part of and parcel of a dedicated concern for the environment. Indeed Iceland, regrettably, has found on many occasions in working in other international fora that the IWC format has been seen to cause states to shy away from active international cooperation in other fields of the environment. We consider this very regrettable for environmental concerns as a whole.

Mr.Chairman, I turn now to the results of recent meetings of the Commission. I could refer to the four year period when we challenged the activity of the IWC on scientific permits, when the Commission adopted over and over again Resolutions addressed against Iceland which we considered as illegal and *ultra vires* the organisation. These Resolutions were, in fact, particularly pernicious because they produced language in the legislation of one member government which in turn led to serious bilateral disputes with an important friend. Then last year we had a refusal by the Commission to reclassify the minke stock around Iceland, despite evidence that no harm would be caused to the stock. This year that legal travesty continued after a very messy debate on Rules of Procedure. The Commission refused even to allow a vote on the Icelandic proposal once again. You will understand, I'm sure, the feelings of the members of my delegation who are from the fishing industry when they felt that they could no longer remain in this room with us. Finally, Mr.Chairman, we had a decision here on the Revised Management Procedure which in our view gives ample opportunity for further procrastination of efforts to have the organisation live up to its management obligations.

Mr.Chairman, we have earlier today pointed out what we call the structural difficulties of this organisation which automatically leads to such results as those which I have described. It is popular today to speak of windows of opportunity. In this Commission it seems that window is open for less than 48 hours per year. The same seems to apply even in other committees of the IWC. This period is simply too short for the kind of consultations which are necessary to achieve imaginative solutions to our differences. Mr.Chairman, on the basis of this recent experience I have regrettably come to the conclusion that this organisation is fundamentally flawed. I have come to this conclusion with regret. I feel that Iceland has played a significant part in the work of the organisation. Iceland's scientists have participated in the scientific work not only with respect to our stocks but in others as well. But we have always felt that the majority within the Commission of what I consider moderate nations would have to choose between accommodating the views of extreme protectionists and those who wish to carry our scientifically-based conservative whaling. Too often over the past years the Commission appears to have chosen to favour the extreme group. Mr.Chairman, therefore I have come regrettably to the conclusion, following consultation within the Icelandic delegation to this meeting, to propose to the Government of Iceland that Iceland withdraw from the International Whaling Commission.

Mr.Chairman, at this point I should like to make quite clear the consequences of a decision to withdraw from the organisation. First, Iceland's withdrawal would not take effect until 30 June of next year and we would participate in the work of the Commission until then and work hard, for example, to ensure that our fear on the sabotage possibilities on the RMP will not be realised. Secondly, until such withdrawal would take place we would not pursue any whaling in Iceland. And thirdly, any decision on whaling at some later time would be based on an analysis of all possible legal aspects. Mr.Chairman, I said twice that I've come to this conclusion with regret. But, Mr.Chairman, I fear for the IWC and I even see some Kafkaesque governments in its work. I can only hope that with some imagination some way may be found to take account on this question of the legitimate interests of all members of the international community. Thank you, Chairman.

(Verbatim Record 1991:168-170)

Appendix 2: The Resolution adopted at the 45th Annual Meeting of the IWC 1993, Recognizing the Socio-economic and Cultural Needs of the Four Small Coastal Communities in Japan.

Resolution on Japanese community-based whaling

Proposed by :Japan, Norway, St.Vincent and the Grenadines, St.Lucia, Dominica, Grenada

Whereas since 1986, Japan has presented documentation on the localized and small-scale nature of community-based whaling in Japan, and the socio-economic and cultural importance of whale meat production, distribution and consumption in four small coastal whaling communities,

Whereas community-based whaling in Japan has many characteristics in common with various aboriginal/subsistence whaling,

Whereas extensive anthropological research has demonstrated that the cessation of minke whaling in these communities has affected individuals economically, socially, spiritually and culturally, in a manner that threatens the vitality and viability of the communities;

Whereas the Commission has considered an action plan containing the essential elements required to manage a limited harvest of minke whales and distribution of the products for these four communities;

Whereas the Government of Japan is prepared to give formal assurance that the meat of minke whales to be taken within the framework of community-based whaling shall not become the object of any commercial distribution, but rather exclusively for subsistence purposes;

Whereas the report of the Scientific Committee allows the conclusion that a small take of minke whales from the North Pacific is not liable to endanger the stock in question;

Now Therefore:

The International Whaling Commission at its 45th Annual Meeting, recognizes the socio-economic and cultural needs of the four small coastal whaling communities in Japan and the distress to these communities which has resulted from the cessation of minke whaling and,

resolves to work expeditiously to alleviate the distress to these communities which has resulted from the cessation of minke whaling at its next Annual Meeting.

Appendix 3: Resolutions tabled at the 43rd Annual Meetings of the IWC in 1991

3.1. Emergency quota request for small-type coastal whaling

Japan

Japan seeks an emergency quota of 50 minke whales per year from the Okhotsk Sea - West Pacific Stock for its Small-Type Whaling until the Revised Management Procedure is applied to this stock.

Objective

This request is directed to the maintenance of Small-Type Whaling Communities. For the past six years, Japan has documented the social, economic, cultural, religious and dietary importance of this whaling. The moratorium has resulted in severe disruption to the whaling communities. These hardship also have been well documented. In the last three years, a number of delegations expressed their understanding of the serious problems in the Japanese Small-Type Whaling communities.

Safety of the stock

Whales will be taken off Ayukawa and Abashiri between June and November. Sighting surveys carried out last year estimated the abundance for this stock to be excess of 21,000 animals. The Scientific Committee has completed the Comprehensive Assessment for this year. The take of 50 animals per year is far less than the estimated Replacement Yields calculated by the Committee for the most extreme pessimistic scenario for this stock. Furthermore, Japan has a long history of catch from this stock with an average annual take of about 300 animals. No catches have been made since 1987. A quota of 50 is substantially less than the historic sustained harvest levels.

Local consumption policy

Whales taken under this quota will be primarily consumed within local areas. The Government of Japan and local township are prepared to implement strict control measures to localize the distribution of meat to those communities where a distinct food culture based upon fresh minke whale meat exists.

3.2. Resolution on small cetaceans (Rev.1)

Proposed by New Zealand
Co-sponsored by Australia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Seychelles, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA.

The International Whaling Commission,

-Recalling the resolution on small cetaceans adopted at its 42nd Annual Meeting, in which it expressed its concern at the severe reductions of certain stocks of small cetaceans through directed exploitation and incidental catches in fishing operations;

-Recalling also its request in that resolution to the Scientific Committee to commence a process of drawing together information on the stocks subjected to significant directed and incidental takes, and on the impact of those takes on the stocks; and to present to the 43rd Annual Meeting a report on the work undertaken to date together with such scientific advice as may be warranted;

-Noting that the Scientific Committee has prepared an initial review of the status of a number of stocks which confirms that many stocks are severely threatened and puts forward carefully considered scientific advice on ways to address this serious situation;

-Taking account of the fact that the Scientific Committee has identified a number of stocks for which further investigation is required, and that some stocks could not be reviewed because of a lack of information;

-Bearing in mind the Commission's decision in its 1990 resolution to present a report on the work carried out under the terms of that resolution to the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development;

Now, therefore:

1. Commends the Scientific Committee for the work carried out to date;

2. Requests the Scientific Committee to continue this work, including those stocks of small cetaceans subject to significant directed and incidental takes which were not reviewed this year;

3. Requests those Contracting Governments which have not yet provided appropriate information to make every effort to do so;

4. Requests the Secretary to forward to contracting and non-contracting governments, intergovernmental organisations and other entities as appropriate, copies of the relevant sections of the Scientific Committee's report on small cetaceans, at the same time drawing their attention to any particular scientific advice contained therein and offering more detailed advice if that should be sought;

5. Further requests the Secretary to forward the report on small cetaceans, the relevant sections of the Scientific Committee's report and the text of any resolutions pertaining to this matter adopted by the Commission at its present session to the Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development at the earliest possible date after the close of this annual meeting.

3.3. Resolution on special permit catches by Japan in the southern hemisphere

Proposed by Australia, Brazil, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America.

WHEREAS the Commission had considered the Report of the Scientific Committee IWC/43/4 concerning the results of the Japanese catches of minke whales in the Southern Hemisphere described in SC/43/Mi11, the proposed catch in 1991/92 described in SC/43/Mi19, and the responses in SC/42/SHMi19 and SC/43/Mi19 of the Government of Japan to earlier criticisms of the research programme arising in the Scientific Committee's reports (IWC/39/4, Report of Special Meeting Cambridge 1987, IWC/40/4, IWC/41/4, IWC/42/4);

WHEREAS the Commission has encouraged Contracting Governments to base their research programmes to the maximum extent possible on non-lethal methods (Rep. Int. Whal. Comm 42:70) and the Government of Japan has made important contributions to the development of non-lethal whale population assessment methods especially through sightings surveys conducted under the IWC/IDCR programme of Southern Hemisphere Minke Whale Assessment Cruises;

WHEREAS the Government of Japan, through its various modifications to the original research programme, including those outlined in SC/43/Mi19, has attempted to address the concerns expressed by the Scientific Committee in its earlier reports;

WHEREAS the Commission takes cognizance of Article VIII of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, under which the granting by any Contracting Government to its nationals of a Special Permit authorising the killing, taking, or treatment of whales for purposes of scientific research remains the responsibility of each Contracting Government, exercising its sovereign rights in respect of maritime areas under its jurisdiction and freedom of the high seas;

Now, THEREFORE, the Commission

CONSIDERS; taking into account the comments of the Scientific Committee; that the proposed take of minke whales in the Southern Hemisphere described in SC/43/Mi19 does not fully satisfy the criteria specified in both the 1986 Resolution on Special Permits for Scientific Research and the 1987 Resolution on Scientific Research Programmes in that the proposed research is not structured so as to contribute information presently required for the management of these stocks, though it addresses general research needs;

INVITE the Government of Japan to reconsider the proposed research under special permit in 1991/92 in the light of the above.

3.4. Resolution on USSR proposal for special permit catches in the North Pacific

Proposed by Australia, Brazil, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America

WHEREAS the International Whaling Commission adopted in 1986 a Resolution on Special Permits for Scientific Research (Rep. Int. Whal. Commn 37:25) and in 1987 a Resolution on Scientific Research Programmes (Rep. Int. Whal. Commn 38:27);

WHEREAS the Commission takes cognizance of Article VIII of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, under which the granting by any Contracting Government to its nationals of a special permit authorising the killing, taking or treatment of whales for purposes of scientific research remains the responsibility of each Contracting Government, exercising its sovereign rights in respect of maritime areas under its jurisdiction and freedom of the high seas;

WHEREAS an assessment of the western North Pacific stock of minke whales under the Comprehensive Assessment has been undertaken at the 1991 meeting of the Scientific Committee which showed that whales from a Protected Stock, the Sea of Japan, Yellow Sea, East China Sea minke whale stock, might be taken in the Okhotsk sea;

WHEREAS Article VIII of the Convention requires *inter alia* a Contracting Government to report at once to the Commission authorizations of special permits it has granted;

Now, THEREFORE, the Commission

CONSIDERS; taking into account the comments of the Scientific Committee; that the proposed kill of minke in the North Pacific described in SC/43/O11 does not satisfy the criteria specified in both the 1986 Resolution on Special Permits for Scientific Research and the 1987 Resolution on Scientific Research Programmes in that the proposed research is not structured so as to contribute information essential to the rational management of these stocks and that it has not been established that the research addresses important research needs;

REQUESTS the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to refrain from proceeding with the proposed kill of minke whales until the proposed research programs is revised in accordance with the criteria specified in the 1986 and 1987 resolutions and the Scientific Committee and Commission have concluded a review of the programme as revised.

3.5. Resolution on small cetaceans (Rev.2)

Proposed by New Zealand.
Co-sponsored by Australia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Seychelles, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA.

The International Whaling Commission,

-Recalling the resolution on small cetaceans adopted at its 42nd Annual Meeting, in which it expressed its concern at the severe reductions of certain stocks of small cetaceans through directed exploitation and incidental catches in fishing operations;

-Recalling also its request in that resolution to the Scientific Committee to commence a process of drawing together information on the stocks subjected to significant directed and incidental takes, and on the impact of those takes on the stocks; and to present to the 43rd Annual Meeting a report on the work undertaken to date together with such scientific advices as may be warranted;

-Aware that there exist differences in views between member states on the regulatory competence of the IWC with regard to small cetaceans, and noting that this resolution does not seek in any way to prejudice different members' positions;

-Conscious of the sovereign rights of coastal states, as set out in the United Nations Convention in the Law of the Sea, and recalling also the provisions of Article 65 of that Convention;

-Noting that the Scientific Committee has prepared an initial review of the status of a number of stocks which confirms that many stocks are severely threatened and puts forward carefully considered scientific advice on ways to address this serious situation;

-Taking account of the fact that the Scientific Committee has identified a number of stocks for which further investigation is required, and that some stocks could not be reviewed because of a lack of information;

-Bearing in mind the Commission's decision in its 1990 resolution to present a report on the work carried out under the terms of that resolution to the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development;

Now, therefore:

1. Commends the Scientific Committee for the work carried out to date;

2. Requests the Scientific Committee to continue this work, including those stocks of small cetaceans subject to significant directed and incidental takes which were not reviewed this year;

3. Requests those Contracting Governments which have not yet provided appropriate information to make every effort to do so;

4. Requests the Secretary to forward to contracting and non-contracting organisations and other entities as appropriate, copies of the relevant sections of the Scientific Committee's report on small cetaceans, at the same time drawing their attention to any particular scientific advice contained therein and offering more detailed advice if that should be sought;

5. Further requests the Secretary to forward the report on small cetaceans and the relevant sections of the Scientific Committee's report to the Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development at the earliest possible date after the close of this annual meeting.

3.6. Resolution regarding recommendations on small cetaceans

Proposed by Australia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America and Seychelles.

The International Whaling Commission:

RECALLING the Resolution on Small Cetaceans adopted at its 42nd Annual Meeting;

NOTING the relevant portions of the Report of the Scientific Committee regarding small cetaceans;

RECALLING the Resolution on the Takes of Dall's Porpoise wherein the Government of Japan was requested to consider the advice of the Scientific Committee and as soon as possible to reduce takes of Dall's porpoise to at least the levels before 1986.

Now, therefore:

COMMENDS the Government of Japan for taking measures to reduce the take of Dall's porpoise and for its intent to continue to reduce this harvest;

INVITES the concerned governments to consider the advice of the Scientific Committee regarding:

-further reducing the takes of *Phocoenoides dalli* (Dall's porpoise);
-developing a program of field research addressing the immediate management problems of *Platanista minor* (susu) with international support, strengthening existing protective laws and their enforcement, establishing additional habitat reserves, and informing relevant international aid agencies involved in supporting development in the Indus basin of the species' precarious status;
-continuing to obtain necessary scientific information on *Phocoena sinus* (vaquita) and continuing ongoing enforcement efforts relating to the closure of the totoaba fishery and cooperation to stop illegal trade in totoaba;
-continuing to develop and implement conservation and management measures for *Lipotes vexillifer* (baiji); and
-providing to the Scientific Committee information regarding accurate estimates of stock size and identity for *Delphinapterus leucas* (white whales), information on current catch statistics and struck and loss rates, and efforts to reduce the struck and loss rates, in response to concerns that certain stocks of white whales may be

being harvested at rates above their estimated sustainable yield; and

REQUESTS the Secretary to inform concerned non-member governments of the text of this resolution.

3.7. Draft resolution on adoption of the recommendation of the Scientific Committee on a revised management procedure

Submitted by Norway, Iceland and Japan

WHEREAS the Commission has before it a firm recommendation of the Scientific Committee with regard to the adoption of a revised management procedure;

APPROVING the Scientific Committee's successful completion of a generic revised management procedure;

NOTING that this task has been completed in close observance of the guidelines given to it by the Commission;

COMMENDING in particular Dr. Kirkwood for his outstanding chairmanship of the sub-committee on management procedures;

NOTING the Scientific Committee's clear recommendation that "C" procedure, to be implemented in 1992, should be adopted by the Commission at this year's meeting;

NOTING further that the recommended procedure gives whale stocks high safety against depletion, including a satisfactory realized protection level;

NOTING also that the Scientific Committee requests advice from the Commission on the exact tuning of this procedure;

Now therefore,

The International Whaling Commission,

ENDORSES and APPROVES the recommendation of the Scientific Committee; and

ADOPT the recommended procedure with a tuning of 66% of initial population size, to be implemented in 1992 for the Southern Hemisphere and the North Atlantic minke whales in accordance with the time schedule proposed by the Scientific Committee.

3.8. Resolution on the Revised Management Procedure

Proposed by: Australia, Finland, Germany, Oman, Netherlands, Seychelles, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America

WHEREAS the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling recognizes the interest of nations of the world in safeguarding for future generations the great natural resources of the whale stocks;

WHEREAS Schedule paragraphs 10(a) to 10(c) proved to be deficient in several important respects, particularly with regards to the expected advice which the Scientific Committee was unable to provide in the face of uncertainty over the status of stocks, and which, therefore, often left the Commission without adequate advice on classifications and catch limits;

WHEREAS the Commission as a consequence of these deficiencies adopted paragraph 10(e) of the Schedule, and committed itself to the undertaking of a Comprehensive Assessment of the effects of its decision;

WHEREAS the Commission has determined at its forty-first Annual Meeting that the objectives for a revised management procedure to replace paragraphs 10(a) to 10(c) should be:

(i) stability of catch limits which would be desirable for the orderly development of the whaling industry,

(ii) acceptable risk that a stock not be depleted (at a certain level of probability) below some chosen level (e.g. a fraction of its carrying capacity), so that the risk of extinction is not seriously increased by exploitation;

(iii)making possible the highest possible continuing yield from the stock.

WHEREAS the Scientific Committee as part of the Comprehensive Assessment has been developing a range of revised management procedures to overcome the deficiencies of the management procedure specifies in Schedule paragraphs 10(a) to 10(c), and has now provided the Commission with its advice;

NOW THEREFORE the Commission having considered the advice of the Scientific Committee;

DECIDES to accord the highest priority to the management objective (ii) regarding an acceptable risk that a stock shall not be depleted below some chosen level;

ACCEPTS the Scientific Committee's recommendation for the C procedure as the core single stock management procedure for baleen whales upon which further development of the Revised Management Procedure shall proceed;

AGREES that its Revised Management Procedure shall at least incorporate the following elements;

1. Commercial whaling shall only be permitted for populations in areas and seasons for which catch limits are in force. These catch limits shall have been calculated by the Scientific Committee, and forwarded to and approved by the Commission in conformity with all the provisions of the Revised Management Procedure. Catch limits for all other populations in all areas and seasons shall be zero.

2. The "high tuning' level of 0.72 shall be adopted.

3. To permit depleted stocks (i.e. stocks below 54% of the unexploited level) to recover to more productive levels, catch limits under the Revised Management Procedure shall only be greater than zero in cases when the stock is determined to be above 54% of its unexploited level.

AGREES to review the third elements described immediately above at the next annual meeting of the Commission in the light of advice to be sought from the Scientific Committee on the probability of whaling being inadvertently allowed under the proposed Revised Management Procedure when stock levels are significantly below the protection level of 54%;

OBSERVES that the existing C procedure on base case simulation trials with the "high tuning" ensures that:

1. Catch limits set for stocks with population levels as low as 60% of the unexploited level will be such that the stocks will continue to remain above 54% of the unexploited level with a 95% certainty.

2. Catch limits will vary by no more than 20% per year, except in cases where reductions greater than that amount are necessary.

REQUESTS the Scientific Committee to consider and provide further advice on the minimum standards for data, including coverage and methodology for sighting surveys, analytical techniques and acceptable levels of precision;

RESOLVES to continue with due diligence the development of the program of work set out by the Scientific Committee in IWC/43/4. In particular, the Commission calls upon the Scientific Committee to address the development of multi stock management procedures.

Appendix 4: Tables

Table 3: Small-type whaling production statistics

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
MINKE	248	400	407	379	374	324	290	367	327	311	304	0
BAIRD'S BEAKED WHALE	44	36	28	31	39	60	37	38	40	40	40	40
PILOT WHALE	6	11	3	1	0	85	125	160	62	29	0	128
OTHER WHALES	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	7
TOTAL	300	447	438	413	413	469	453	565	429	382	344	175

Source: Japan Small-type Whalers Association

Appendix 4: Tables

Table 4: Small-type coastal whaling boats and their fishery activity, 1987

Community	Vessel	1987 fishery
Abashiri	Yasu-maru No.1	Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (4/1-9/29)
		Baird's beaked whale offshore of Hokkaido (10/1-9/29)
	Takashima-maru No.8	Same as Yasu-maru No.1
Ayukawa	Kōei-maru No.75	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-6/5)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/6-9/29)
	Taishō-maru	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-5/31)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/4-9/30)
	Taishō-maru No.2	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-5/30)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/1-9/29)
		Baird's beaked whale offshore of Wada (7/20-8/20)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (8/23-9/29)
Wada	Sumitomo-maru No.21	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-6/1)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/1-7/15)
		Baird's beaked whale offshore of Wada (7/20-8/20)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (8/23-9/29)
	Sumitomo-maru No.31	Same as Sumitomo-maru No.21

Taiji	Seishin-maru	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-6/2)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/3-9/30)
	Katsu-maru	Minke whale offshore of Ayukawa (4/1-6/5)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (6/6-6/16)
		Baird's beaked whale offshore of Wada (7/21-8/18)
		Minke whale offshore of Hokkaido (8/22-9/30)

Source:Japanese Small-type whaling Association

Appendix 4: Tables

Table 5: Population distribution of each industry in Oshika-chō in 1985

The primary industry		
Agriculture	172	(people)
Forestry/hunting	20	
Fishery/aquaculture	1,596	
The secondary industry		
Mining	0	
Construction	231	
Manufacturing	523	
The tertiary industry		
Whole sale/retail	448	
Finance/insurance	17	
Real estate	0	
Transport/communication	181	
Electricity/gas/water/heat supply	12	
Service	697	
Public service	148	
Others	0	
Total	3,814	

Source: Oshika-chō 1989

Appendix 4: Tables

Table 6: Gross fishery sales at Oshika-chō Maritime Wholesale Market, 1984-1987

	Whale product sales (Million yen)	Other fishery sales (Million yen)	Total sales (Million yen)	Whale products sales as percent of total sales
1984	348,967	190,407	539,374	64.70%
1985	292,677	253,709	546,386	53.57%
1986	417,253	272,339	689,592	60.51%
1987	723,538	193,177	916,715	78.93%
Average	445,609	227,408	673,017	66.21%

Source: IWC/41/SE1 1989: Table 5.

Appendix 4: Tables

Table 7: Whale-related religious practices and associated phenomena

Domestic rites

Daily prayers at Shinto altar for whaler's safety (kamidana)

Domestic memorial rites for deceased whalers on a daily, annual, and periodic basis at Buddhist altar (butsudan)

On board whaling ships

Installation of soul of the boat, talismans (funadama) under the bow

Observance of taboos regarding sea deities

Purification of boats and crew by Shinto priest before first sailing of season. Shinto shrine (kamidana) placed in steering house of ship; talismans (ofuda) from shrine placed in it

Celebration of catch of first whale of season (hatsuryō iwai); prayers for safety and for souls of whales to be caught

Flensing station contains small Shinto shrine (kamidana) to pray for safety of crew and a large catch

First day of whaling season, sail close to island shrine, off sea water to deity, pray for safety

Shinto shrine

Lay person's and Shinto priests' prayers to ensure whalers' safety at sea (daily, seasonal, annual)

Rites for atonement for accidental violation of taboos on board whaling ships

Dedication of votive plaques (ema)

Pilgrimage to pray at distant shrines for whalers' safety at sea

Annual festival (matsuri) dramatizing whaling techniques and giving thanks for annual fishing/whaling harvest

Erection of whale jaw bones as sacred gates (torii) for Shinto shrines

Whaling companies and whalers' associations dedicates a variety of items to shrine in gratitude for divine protection

Whalers offer whale meat to shrine deities as "first fruits" (hatsuhō)

Whaling drums, whaling festivals

Miniature shrines (omiyasan) offered for thanksgiving

Votive plaques for lost harpoons and knives offered to shrine deities

Whale models used as target at archery festival (Ōyumitori) and later good luck charms are brought to boat for successful whaling

Buddhist temple

Construction of whale graves (kujira no haka) and "whale mounds" (kujira zuka)

Construction of whale memorial pillars within temple grounds and elsewhere

Lay persons's prayers for whalers' safety at sea

Priests' annual and equinoctial prayers for pacifying the souls of whales, fish, and whalers lost at sea

Composition of posthumous names (kaimyō) for deceased whales

Compilation of death registers (kakochō) for whale spirits

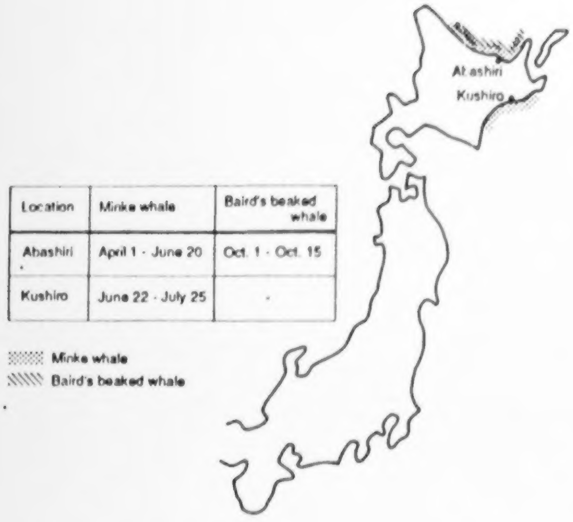
Temple visits to offer thanks for the season's catch

Whaling companies, whalers, and whalers' associations, temple parishioners sponsor memorial services for whales and commission memorial tablets (ihai) for whales and whalers lost at sea

Lanterns for whale spirits sent out to sea at *bon*

Appendix 5. Map 3: Whaling grounds for nine STCW boats

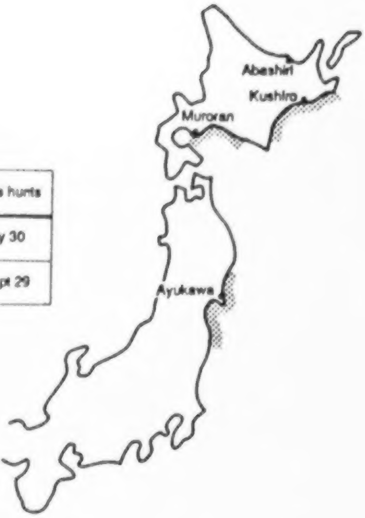
Akimichi et al. pp21-22


Abashiri
Kushiro

Location	Minke whale	Baird's beaked whale
Abashiri	April 1 - June 20	Oct. 1 - Oct. 15
Kushiro	June 22 - July 25	-

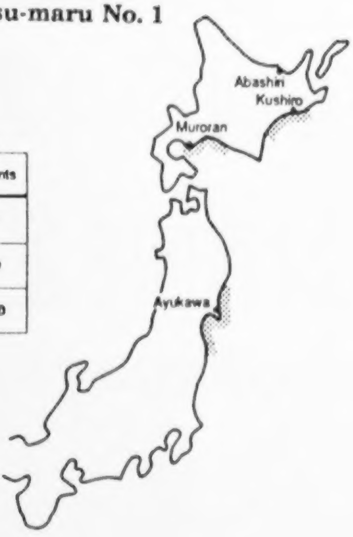
▩ Minke whale
▨ Baird's beaked whale

Abashiri Boats: Takashima-maru No. 8 (46.21 tons), Yasu-maru No. 1 (44.55 tons)


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa

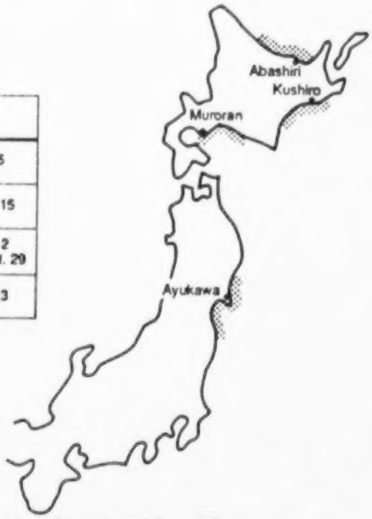
Location	Minke whale hunts
Ayukawa	April 1 - May 30
Mororan/Kushiro	June 1 - Sept 29

Ayukawa Boat: Taisho-maru No. 2 (46.54 tons)


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa

Location	Minke whale hunts
Ayukawa	April 1 - May 31
Muroran	June 4 - Aug 30
Kushiro	Sept. 1 - Sept 30

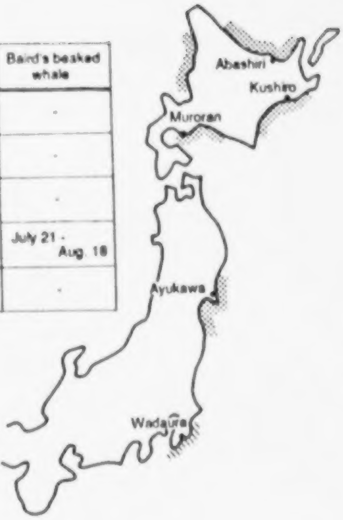
Ayukawa Boat: Taisho-maru (42.35 tons)


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa

Location	Minke whale
Ayukawa	April 1 - June 5
Muroran	June 6 - June 15
Kushiro	June 18 - July 2 Aug. 14 - Sept. 29
Abashiri	July 4 - Aug. 13

Ayukawa Boat: Koei-maru No. 75 (45.37 tons)

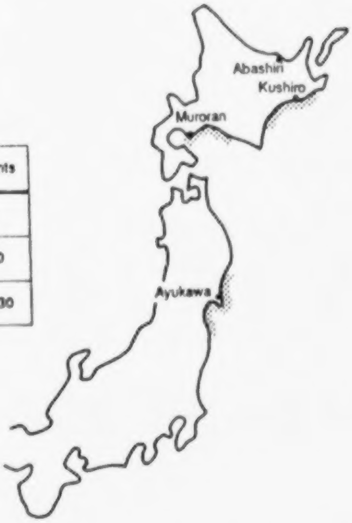
Map 3 con't


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa
Wadaura

Location	Minke whale	Baird's beaked whale
Ayukawa	April 1 - June 5	-
Muroran	June 6 - June 16	-
W. Hokkaido/ Abashiri	June 16 - July 13	-
Wadaura	-	July 21 - Aug. 18
Kushiro	Aug. 22 - Sept. 30	-

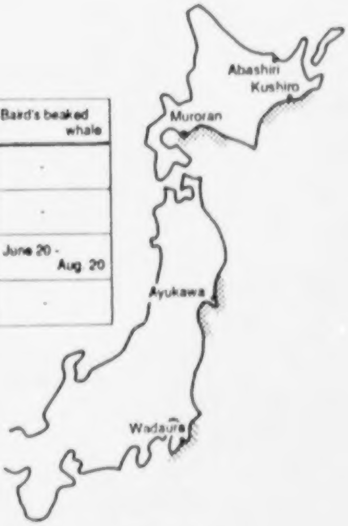
▒ Minke whale
▨ Baird's beaked whale

Taiji Boat: Katsu-maru (15.2 tons)


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa

Location	Minke whale hunts
Ayukawa	April 1 - June 2
Muroran	June 3 - Aug. 30
Kushiro	Sept. 1 - Sept. 30

Wadaura Boats: Sumitomo-maru No. 31 (47.77 tons), Sumitomo-maru No. 21 (22 tons)


Abashiri
Kushiro
Muroran
Ayukawa
Wadaura

Location	Minke whale	Baird's beaked whale
Ayukawa	April 1 - May 30	-
Muroran	June 2 - June 20	-
Wadaura	-	June 20 - Aug. 20
Kushiro	Aug. 23 - Sept. 29	-

▒ Minke whale
▨ Baird's beaked whale

Taiji Boat: Seishin-maru (19 tons)